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TANJORE

OCTOBER 1941

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The
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of the
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Vol. XXXII] OCTOBER 1941 [No. 2

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE

6th September 1941

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER, LL.D., K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
In the Chair

THE Thirty-first Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held at the Daly Memorial Hall on Saturday, 6th September 1941, with Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, LL.D., K.C.S.I., C.I.E. in the Chair.

A letter from Rājamantrapravina N. Madhava Rau, regretting inability to be present and wishing the function a success and future prosperity for the Society was referred to and then the Annual Report for the year 1940-41 was presented to the meeting by Mr. S. Srikantaya, the General Scretary and Treasurer.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1940-41

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure to present you this evening a report of the Society's activities during the year 1940-41.

Our Patron:—Our beloved Mahārāja His Highness Śri Jaya Chāmarāja Wadiyar Bahadur has been graciously pleased to consent to be the Patron of the Mythic Society.

The late Mahārāja, His Highness Śri Krishnarāja Wadiyar Bahadur IV, an unrivalled patron of arts and letters, and the Patron of the Mythic Society from its very inception passed away on the third of August 1940, to the great sorrow of all. A resolution of condolence was passed at the last Annual Meeting, all members standing.

Mahārājādhirāja Sir Bijay Chand Mahtale Bahadur, Mahārājādhirāja of Burdwan, Vice-Patron of the Mythic Society; His Highness Sir Śri Rama Varmah, the late Mahārāja of Cochin, an Honorary Member of the Mythic Society, a liberal patron of arts and letters; Dr. Rabindranatha Tagore, the famous poet and a great son of India, an Honorary Member of the Mythic Society; Prof. J. G. Fraser of the Trinity College, Oxford; Sir George Abraham Grierson, author of the monumental work on the Linguistic Survey of India; Sir C. Y. Chintamani, the distinguished publicist; Mudaliar C. Rasanayagam of Ceylon and S. Srinivasa Iyangar of Madras also passed away during the year and we tender our respectful condolences to the members of their bereaved families.

Membership:—The Membership of the Society has suffered owing to war and the complications of the present international situation. We trust that in the current year at least our members will try to introduce more members into the Society and thus help us to carry on our work in a more satisfactory manner.

Meetings:—Of the ordinary meetings held during the year mention may be made of interesting lectures delivered on "Chitaldrug" by S. Srikantaya; "Some Characteristics of the Buddha Dharma" by the Rt. Hon'ble Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Minister of Home Affairs, Ceylon; and "The Antiquities of Hyderabad" by Dr. M. H. Krishna of the Mysore University.

Finance:—The total receipts during the year including an opening balance of Rs. 26-2-3 were Rs. 3,581-2-9. The total expenditure was Rs. 3,674-5-6 as against Rs. 4,160-5-0 in the

previous year. The overdraft in the Bank of Mysore, Ltd. stands at Rs. 992-5-2. The Reserve Fund is stationary at Rs. 12,150.

We are grateful to the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore for renewing the temporary grant of Rs. 100 per month for the years 1941-42 and 1942-43. We hope and pray that this temporary grant will be made permanent and raised to at least Rs. 200 a month, so as to enable us to carry on our work on a more satisfactory scale. We appeal to public philanthropy in support of our activities, which are greatly appreciated in all parts of the world where the name and fame of Mysore are better known day by day. Funds are required to purchase recent publications, to provide book-cases to keep the numerous volumes, to construct a suitable structure to house the ever-growing library and to bring the catalogue of books in the library up-to-date.

Our thanks are due to Mr. T. M. S. Subramanyam of the Bank of Mysore, Ltd. who continues to audit the accounts of the Society in an honorary capacity for the past fifteen years.

Reading Room:—The number of visitors to the free reading room attached to the Society continues to be steady as usual, though the Daly Memorial Hall has been placed at the disposal of the Government for locating the Special First Class Magistrate's Court since the 19th of May 1941. Daily and weekly papers are placed on the table while important periodicals are bound and made available to the visitors also who make good use of them.

Library:—The Library of the Society possesses many rare and valuable books on subjects of study in which we are interested. Scholars from within the State and outside come to the Society for study and research work in the library. Some important books were purchased during the year under review. The acquisition of valuable periodicals and reports of archæological and epigraphical departments continues. We appeal to all those interested in the work of this institution to present books and periodicals dealing with antiquarian research to this library. We are obliged to the Government of India; the several Governments in India and Burma; the Governments of Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, Gwalior, Travancore, Cochin and Jaipur; the Universities of Mysore, Madras,

Calcutta, Dacca, Benares, Annamalai, Allahabad, Patna and Rangoon; and to various authors and publishers, for their patronage and for sending their publications to the library and for review in the Journal. Though the Hall is placed at the disposal of the Special First Class Magistrate, books from the library are being made available to members and other research scholars.

Journal:—The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society maintains the high standard set for it by its promoters. The July and October 1940 issues were published as usual. For the January and April 1941 issues is substituted the Śri Krishnarāja Memorial Number of the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society to the illustrious memory of our late Mahārāja, and this will be published shortly.

We may in this connection recall the words of the Hon'ble Lt-Col. J. H. Gordon, C.I.E., O.B.E., C.S.I., M.C., the Hon'ble the Resident in Mysore in his letter to the Secretary: "................ the Hon'ble the Resident greatly appreciates the loyalty which has prompted the Society to publish a Memorial Number and thanks the Society for affording him an opportunity once more to give expression to his appreciation of the late Mahārāja".

We are grateful to the Hon'ble Lt.-Col. J. H. Gordon, C.I.E., O.B.E., C.S.I., M.C., the Hon'ble the Resident in Mysore, The Rt. Hon'ble Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Sachivōttama Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, Sir Ramalinga Reddy, Rājadharmapravina Diwan Bahadur K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, Rājasēvāsakta Prof. B. Venkatanaranappa, Rājasēvāsakta S. Hiriannaiya, Mr. S. Satyamurthi, M.L.A. (Central), Rājasēvāsakta Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Rājasēvāsakta Prof. B. M. Srikantia and others for other appreciative articles and valuable contributions to the Memorial Number.

Exchanges:—Among our exchanges are included most of the important periodicals of the world. The list is being revised from time to time.

Daly Memorial Hall:—The Daly Memorial Hall and the Premises continue to be maintained in good condition. The Hall is in constant demand by several institutions both in the city and cantonment. The Indian Red Cross Society, Mysore State Branch, The Society for the promotion of Kindness to Animals and the Universal Buddha Society were among the many institutions which held their meetings in the premises of the Mythic Society. The Mysore Civil Service Examinations were also conducted in the Daly Memorial Hall. The Special First Class Magistrate, Bangalore, continues to conduct his enquiry and we expect the Hall to be made available to us early.

General:—We desire to congratulate most heartily our Honorary President, the Hon'ble Lt-Col. J. H. Gordon, C.I.E., O.B.E., C.S.I., M.C., the Hon'ble the Resident in Mysore, His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda and His Highness the Rāja of Narasingarh and Sachivōttama Sir C. P. Ramasvamy Aiyar on the New Year and Birthday Honours bestowed on them.

The Committee congratulates Rājasēvāprasakta A. N. Raghavachar, Rājasēvāprasakta Y. K. Ramachandra Rao, Rājasēvāsakta B. Venkatanaranappa on the titles conferred on them respectively by His Highness the Mahārāja during the Dasara Durbar and Dr. S. Rama Iyer on the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal awarded to him during the recent Birthday Honours.

We beg to express our deep debt of gratitude to His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, the Government of India and to the Hon'ble the Resident in Mysore for their continued sympathy and support.

* * *

In moving the adoption of the Report, the President, Rājakāryapravīna N. S. Subba Rao appealed for greater public patronage and endowments and increase in membership so that the decrease in foreign membership may be made up and the financial position of the Society secured. Seconded by Mr. P. S. Lakshminarasu, the report was adopted unanimously.

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure of the Mythic Society Bangalore, for the year ending 30th June 1941

RECEIPTS

	Rs.	A.	P.
1. Subscriptions :			
Resident Members...	196	0	0
Mofussil Members ...	270	10	0
Life Members ...	30	0	0
2. Government Grants :			
Govt. of Mysore ...	1,800	0	0
Govt. of Mysore Lib. Grant ...	300	0	0
Govt. of India ...	300	0	0
3. Interest and Dividend..	502	2	0
4. Sales ...	78	6	0
5. Advertisement ...	8	0	0
6. Hall Charges ...	32	0	0
7. Miscellaneous ...	37	14	6
TOTAL Rs. ...	3,555	0	6
Opening Balance ...	26	2	3
	3,581	2	9
(30th June 1941) Overdraft	992	5	2
GRAND TOTAL ...	4,573	7	11

EXPENDITURE

		Rs.	A.	P.
1. Establishment :				
Pay to Staff ...		844	0	0
Electric Charges ...		108	10	0
Water Charges ...		40	0	0
Municipal Tax ...		12	8	0
Cycle Account ...		9	3	0
Livery to servants ...		24	4	0
Garden ...		79	8	0
Premises ...		50	0	0
Furniture & Repairs		39	0	0
Electric Accessories		11	14	0
2. Journal :				
Printing	1,274 15 6			
Postage	438 9 9			
		1,713	9	3
3. Library :				
Books Purchased ...		39	5	0
Book Binding ...		146	14	0
Subscription to Papers		83	12	0
4. Stationery ...		144	13	0
5. Bank Charges ...		39	9	0
6. Miscellaneous ...		287	7	3
TOTAL Rs. ...		3,674	5	6
Overdraft on 1st July 1940		889	6	8
		4,563	12	2
Closing Balance ...		9	11	9
GRAND TOTAL ...		4,573	7	11

Reserve Fund (At Face-Value)—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Mysore Govt. 4% Stock ...	9,800	0	0
,, 5% Stock ...	1,500	0	0
Mysore Bank Share (one) ...	100	0	0
Fixed Deposit in Bank of Mysore ...	500	0	0
Fixed Deposit in Treasury ...	200	0	0
Deposit in Govt. S. B. ...	50	0	0
TOTAL Rs. ...	12,150	0	0

Certified correct

(Sd.) T. M. S. SUBRAMANYAM
Hon. Auditor.

(Sd.) S. SRIKANTAYA
General Secretary & Treasurer.

Election of President

Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao in proposing Rājakāryapravīna N. S. Subba Rao as President for 1941-42 referred to the international reputation and deep learning of the President with whose public spirit and co-operation the Society would be bound very soon to augment its membership and have a separate structure for its library. On Mr. D. Venkataramiah seconding the proposition, it was carried with acclamation and Rājakāryapravīna N. S. Subba Rao was duly elected President for 1941-42.

Election of Office-Bearers

Rājadharmaprasakta K. Shankaranarayana Rao in proposing the following Office-bearers for the coming year observed that the Vice-Presidents of the Society were people of high reputation, deep thinking and great statesmen and described the General Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. S. Srikantaya, as a pillar of the institution who had worked strenuously heart and soul for twenty years and referred to the valuable services rendered by the Sectional Secretaries and other members of the Committee. Being seconded by Rājasēvāsakta P. Subbarama Setty the following Office-bearers were elected for 1941-42.

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Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, D.Sc., F.Inst.P.

Sir D'Arcy Reilly

Arthaśāstraviśārada Mahāmahōpādhyāya
Vidyālankāra Panditarāja
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Rājamantrapravīna S. P. Rajagopalachari, B.A., B.L.

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Folklore—B. Puttaiya, B.A.

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Capt. Rao Sahib A. Tangavelu Mudaliar.

V. T. Tirunarayana Iyengar, M.A.

The distinguished Chairman of the meeting, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, rising amidst cheers and acclamations delivered the following address :—

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

"I thank you very much for having honoured me by an invitation to preside on this occasion. The Mythic Society is devoted purely to antiquarian research and studies and its objects do not naturally come within the purview of the ordinary man who is to all intents and purposes concerned with the matters of topical and current interest. Its aims appeal to the learned classes and have evoked a steady and satisfactory response during the past thirty years. Its work is facilitated by the generous patronage of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore and the kindly interest of His Government. The Government of His late Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore had always taken great and keen interest in cultural matters and doubtless the position of the Mythic Society would improve under the inspiring patronage of the present Mahārāja.

Not being a specialist in any of the subjects, the study of which is intended to be promoted by the Mythic Society, I have had great hesitation in accepting the invitation of your secretary to preside at the annual meeting. He made a similar request to me last year, but I informed him that owing to another commitment, I was unable to comply with his request. As he has repeated his invitation this year also, I have reluctantly yielded to his request. He has been good enough to supply me with copies of the addresses delivered at your annual meetings in previous years, and I found that some of my predecessors were also gentlemen who disclaimed any specialistic knowledge in the subjects in which your Society is interested. I discovered also that I was not the first person who felt intrigued by the name of your Society. Why it is called the Mythic Society, I do not know. The choice of the name was probably the inspiration of the late Father Tabard who was one of the founders of the Society. Perhaps my esteemed friend Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who was also one of the original members, may throw light upon the

origin of the name.* The Society is not a mythical entity, but a reality and is quite alive.

The declared objects of the Society do not include the subject of mythology. But I believe that the study of mythology from the rationalist point of view would not be outside the scope of the aims of the Society, and can be brought within the comprehensive term 'other allied subjects'. In a handy dictionary I carry with me, a myth is defined as a fictitious legend or tradition accepted as historical, usually embodying the beliefs of the people on the creation, the gods, the universe, etc. Hindu Mythology occupies a large place in the traditions, beliefs, literature and the religious rituals and practices of our country and abounds in stories not less interesting and fantastic than those of other countries. A study of this subject from a scientific or rationalist point of view should be quite interesting and is not beneath the notice of a learned body like yours.

---

* Since the delivery of the above address, I consulted Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, and the following note was kindly furnished by him in explanation of the name of the Society :—

NOTE

The name Mythic Society was chosen, from a certain number of names suggested, as being perhaps the most innocuous from the point of view of service rules, etc. which would debar ladies and gentlemen belonging to certain services from participating in the work of the Society rather rigorously. At the time that the Society was founded there were among the members, a number of the military officers of the station, and two or three members of the Hon'ble The Resident's staff. After rejecting a number of names suggested as not covering the whole scope of the work, it was thought the name Mythic would be the most innocuous, as authority was pointed out that early Greek usage justified the name *Mythics* for matters connected with the early dawn of history and even pre-history. So that was adopted as meeting our needs at the time. It was not mere ordinary people alone, even Bishop Whitehead of Madras found it rather a queer name, and he sometimes stated publicly that I was a myth. It is, however, strange the word has continued to be puzzling even after so many explanations and corrections. I hope this statement published along with the Presidential address would go a considerable way towards clearing the haze yet hanging around it

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

In casting about for a subject upon which I might address you, it struck me that some observations on Hindu mythology might not be inappropriate. The late Sir James Frazer devoted many years of his life to it, and his researches upon myths are embodied in the twelve volumes of the 'Golden Bough'. In a learned article in Hastings' "Cyclopædia of Religion" Mr. E. A. Gardner observes that there is no universal key to solve all mythological problems and that the study of mythology is, for the reasons mentioned by him, obscure and difficult.

I have not come across any papers contributed by the members of this Society on the subject of mythology. There is one learned contribution to the literature on Hindu mythology by the late Mr. N. Narayana Aiyangar. I have looked into some portions of his "Essays in Indo-Aryan Mythology", and if I may presume to express an opinion, he seems inclined to attribute a solar, stellar or astronomical origin to many of the Hindu myths. Even the late Professor Max Muller was not exempt from a tendency to seductive generalisation.

The questions to which I propose to draw your attention this evening are, how do myths arise? Were they invented by particular individuals with intent to deceive or mislead people? What was their motive or purpose? What is the method or principle of interpretation to be adopted? How far are we justified in attaching an esoteric or allegorical meaning to myths? Has any useful purpose been served by myths in the development of human culture?

The first point which I should like to emphasise is that unlike many of the fables and fairy tales, myths were generally accepted as true by the people at large among whom they came into existence. It may not be possible to trace the origin or authorship of a myth to a particular individual. It might have been originally shared by a large number of people or might have originated in the poetic fancy or imagination of some individual which appealed to his contemporaries and in the course of frequent repetition, hardened into belief.

As regards the origin of myths, it may be pointed out that

a large number of them have arisen out of the tendency of primitive humanity to personify nature and especially objects endowed with life and motion. Celestial bodies whose motions strike the eye and excite curiosity are also personified. Man's own movements are the results of his own will and intelligence and he is naturally disposed to infer that motion in the external world must also be the result of a personality endowed with similar attributes. The sun, moon and stars, trees, rivers and the ocean are among the first objects in external nature which are personified. The appearances of these objects give rise to poetic descriptions which are the result of the poet's fancy or imagination. The names of the constellations represented by the signs of the zodiac and the names of rivers are obvious instances. These objects are supposed to be the embodiment of spirits. We hear, for instance, of Vana-devatas. Even inanimate objects like mountains, *e.g.* Himavan, are invested with personality. Once these objects, whether living or inanimate, have been endowed with personality, it is easy to imagine how human characteristics came to be attributed to them, and relations between these personalities or embodied spirits are invented and come to be believed by the people at large. The original beliefs or stories give rise to a number of secondary, tertiary or derivative stories and beliefs. The fancy of the poet creates for them wives and a growing generation of descendants. Separate races are believed to have sprung from the sun and the moon, and there are to this day numerous royal families which claim, whether seriously or otherwise, descent from these races. Their exploits, wars and feuds become the subjects of legends. These legends are the result of the human curiosity to inquire about ancestors and descendants. Natural phenomena, like the revolutions of the planets and stars, eclipses, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions have also been ascribed to the actions and movements of these personalities.

Social customs which have arisen in a primitive age survive into later ages, and where they are out of harmony with the moral notions and ethos of the later age, legends have to be invented to justify the surviving primitive practice in the eyes of the later generation. For example, the marriage of Draupadi

to the Pāṇḍavās which was obviously a vestige of the practice of polyandry prevalent among certain tribes, had to be justified by mythical stories of various kinds relating (1) to incidents in the previous births of Draupadi and (2) to the supposed obligation of sons to carry out in the letter the injunctions of their parents, however absurd they might be. Myths are often invented for the purpose of enforcing moral obligations by exaggerating the length to which the observance of these duties should be carried, as in the case of Paraśurāma who killed his mother at the behest of his father Jamadagni. The shocking character of this story is mitigated or counter-balanced by the miracle of the resuscitation of Paraśurāma's mother at his intercession.

The love of poetic justice and the desire for the reward of virtue and the punishment of evil have led almost all nations to the conception of heaven and hell where justice may be done to the departed souls by God. This belief has in its turn led to a large crop of beliefs regarding the various tortures of hell and the pleasures of heaven. It must be admitted that in the past this belief has exercised a potent influence upon the conduct of men in their relations towards other men and in their treatment of the lower animals, and it has been an incentive to the practice of virtue.

Whether God fashions man after His own image or not, we do not know. It would perhaps be more true to say that man fashions God after his own image, and attributes to Him a super-abudant measure of his own qualities. Some of the gods share our weaknesses. For instance, just as most of us Hindus have not acquired the art of saying 'no' to persistent supplications, Brahma and Śiva have been unable to refuse supplications accompanied by austerities involving self-torture to secure the boons of invulnerability, invincibility, domination or even destruction of others. Complaisance may be a virtue in small matters and within narrow limits, but the complaisance of the gods is at the expense of their ability to foresee the consequences of the boons and the abuse of their favours. The cases of Rāvaṇa, Bhasmāsura and numerons others will come to your memory, and the Gods Brahma and Śiva had to be rescued by Viṣṇu from the perilous plight to which they were reduced by their want of foresight.

Several of our myths are merely the hypostatization of abstract qualities like Dharma (justice), Sraddha (devotion), Kāma (love), Rati (pleasure), Kṣama (patience), Kṛpa (mercy), Hri (modesty), Śri (prosperity).

Another factor which has contributed to the rise of myths is the love of marvels and miracles which is deep-rooted in human nature and is often associated with the exploits of heroes or the kindly intervention of divinity. Visits of heroes to celestial regions or to the bottom of the ocean, the exploit of Hanuman in crossing the ocean, may be cited as instances of myths of this kind.

An aversion to certain natural processes and functions and the desire to avoid any taint of a base and earthly origin are responsible for beliefs in immaculate conception and virgin birth. These and the doctrine of physical resurrection do not now find acceptance among enlightened Christians. The report of the Archbishops' Commission on Doctrine in the Church of England which was published in 1938 has adopted a rational and tolerant attitude towards the beliefs prevalent in different schools of Christian thought. Regarding miracles the Commission believed it to be more congruous with the wisdom of God that He should never vary the regularities of nature.

There is also inherent in humanity a love of the abnormal, the grotesque and the comic.

Another species of myths arising from the play of imagination in making all sorts of combinations of human and animal forms is illustrated by fabulous creatures like unicorn, dragon, griffin, centaur, minotaur, sphinx, satyr and faun.

In another class of cases the myths have arisen from the exaggeration of ordinary human instincts and desires. The desire for longevity is illustrated by the ascription of a life of 60,000 years to king Daśaratha: the desire to fly in the air is illustrated by the stories which describe Rāvaṇā's flight in chariots borne through the air and Indrajit's battles from the air. In these cases it is the wish that has been the father of the myths. Though flight in the air was a pure myth at the time of the

Rāmāyaṇa, it has become a fact in this century through the achievements of science as a result of the investigation and control of the forces of nature. This does not, however, justify a belief in the truth of the myths as recorded in the Purāṇas.

There is a body of myths relating to cosmogony contained in the Vēdas and the Upaniṣads. But the Mimāmsaka came to the aid of the rationalist centuries ago and warned us against the acceptance of the truth of the Akhyayikās (or stories) contained in the Vēdas. With regard to the principles of interpretation to be applied to the myths, one important principle which commends itself to me with my legalistic bias is that the literal interpretation of the myths is not to be rejected merely because it leads to a belief incongruous with our present knowledge or inconsistent with our present notions of morality or religion. Esoteric explanations should as far as possible be avoided. If these mythical stories were intended to be symbolical of external facts or objective truths, why could not such facts or truths have been plainly stated, so as to be understood by ordinary people? Unless it can be shown that a plain and unvarnished statement of the facts or truths could not possibly have been understood in the then state of popular knowledge or would have been liable to abuse, the literal interpretation should be preferred to the esoteric. It is imposible to understand why people should have been at pains to wrap the truth in mysteries or a cloud of symbols which require elaborate explanations. There is no doubt that myths have exercised considerable influence on several of our practices and especially on the minds of persons who have not received the benefits of modern education. Many of the festivals which have contributed to the enlivening of our life are closely connected with mythical stories. It does not follow that the disappearance of our belief in myths will necessarily lead to the disappearace of our national festivals. Nor need it necessarily lead to an inability to enjoy poetical or other literature embodying myths. The disappearance of fairies, naiads, dryads and sea-nymphs has not spoiled our enjoyment of poetry. We can love and enjoy nature just as much as our ancestors did. The marvels of science are even more wonderful than the marvels of mythology, and thanks to a benign

Providence, the human mind has a wonderful capacity for accommodating the most incongruous beliefs.

In conclusion, I must add that I do not wish to be understood as having expressed an opinion against the immanence of a Higher Power in the universe or as banging the door upon religion."

* * *

Rev. Father C. Browne in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the distinguished guest of the evening referred to his great talents, patient labour, honest and disinterested devotion to duty and the high position which he held as a doyen of Indian political life and thanked him for his address which was full of that profundity of thought and expression which characterised all his public utterances.

With three cheers to His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore the meeting terminated.

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THE MEMBERS OF THE ANCIENT SOUTH INDIAN ARMY (SĒNAI): THEIR ASSEMBLY AND ITS FUNCTIONS *

BY K. S. VAIDYANATHAN, B.A.

Argument

SUBJECT for investigation—importance of the army—Sēnai—its meaning and its divisions—God of War and Sēnāpati—the title and position of Sēnāpati—Dubbing of hero as Sēnāpati—Commanders as chiefs and governors of provinces—various usages of the term Daṇḍanāyaka—Sēnaichchēri—the quarter of the army—Sēnāpati's residence in it—King's frequent visits to the quarter—Vēḷaik-kāras, a prominent element—regiments once in prominence—its degeneration into a multitude of castes—paḍayāchchi etc. their modern representatives—encampments, garrisons, and cantonments—recruitment not restricted—the various inhabitants of the Sēri—the chief of the quarter Sēnaikkiḻavaṉ—Sēnaivāṇigam or the Commissariat department—Peruṅgaṇichchaṅgam and Sēnaivaḻḻuvamudumagaṉ attached to the quarter—Inscriptional Extracts—the existence, nature and functions of the military assembly Sēnai—*Résumé*.

WHO were all the members that constituted the Ancient South Indian Army? Had they any geographical standing in the country? Or were they merely important on account of their engagements in the sanguinary War? If they had any territorial units, had such units any assemblies of their own representing them? If such assemblies existed, what were the nature of their constitution and their sphere of work? These are all highly interesting problems which have not been conclusively answered. An accurate and comprehensive study of the references to the ancient South Indian Army, both in the Literary and Epigraphical

* This paper was read at the Tenth Session of the All India Oriental Conference, held at Tirupati, March 1940.

sources, would enable one to answer the above noted queries, and so far as we know, such a study has not uptil now been made. The present paper embodies the results of an attempt in that direction.

A study of Tamil Literature in particular discloses the fact that kings and emperors who ruled over different kingdoms and empires in India from days of old, had almost always been surrounded by the great bodies known in Tamil as Aimperuṅkuḻu[1] and Eṉpērāyam[2]. The bodies that went by the first name[3] or council were the mantrin (*amaichchar*), the purōhita (*purōhitar*), the Sēnāpati (*Sēnāpatiyar*), the dūta (*tavattoḻiltūduvar*) and the chāra (*chāraṇar*). Again, the eight great Āyams[4] (*eṇpērāyam*) consisted of the *Karaṇattiyalavar*, *Karumavidigaḷ Kaḍaikāppāḷar*, *Nagaramāndar*, *Naḷipaḍaittalaivar Yānaivīrar*, *Ivuḷimaṟavar* and such like. They can be generally known as Karaṇa (head among clerks), Purōhits (Kramavits), guards of passages, great men of the City, valorous Sēnāpatis, heads of Elephantry and Cavalry.

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1. It is very interesting to find the word *Aimperuṅkuḻu* occurring in an inscription. But it is very fragmentary and hence gives us no information at all. S. I. I. Vol. IV. No. 383. The Aimperuṅkuḻu of the Tamil Literature is perhaps known in Sanskrit as *Pañchamahāvarga*. See also Maṇimēgalai p. 10, 374. After a survey of Vēdic and other references to the corporate activities in political life, Mr. R. C. Mazumdar expressed his view on the Tamil references to *Aimperuṅkuḻu* as follows :—"It appears to me that the so called Five Assemblies were really the committees of a great Assembly." Corporate Life, p. 131-2.
2. Maṇi : C. I. 1.17 ; Peruṅgadai : IV. 9. 1. 5 ; V. 6. 1.37. Śilappadigāram : Indira : 1.157. The bodies who went with the king were called *Niṅgāchchuṟṟam*, and those that accompanied the queen were called *Uṟimaichchuṟṟam* ; they were generally known as *Mūṉperuñchuṟṟam* and *Maittaḍaṅgaṇṇūr*.
3. Cf. அமைச்சர் புரோகிதர் சேனாபதியர்
   தவத்தாழிற்றாதுவர் சாரணரென்றிவற்
   பார்த்திவர்க்கைம்பெருங்குழுவெனப்படுமே —திவாகரம்.
4. Cf. கரணத்தியலவர் கருமவிதிகள்
   கனகச்சுற்றம் கடைகாப்பாளர்
   நகரமாந்தர் நளிபடைத்தலைவர்
   யானைவீரரிவுளிமறவ
   ரினையரெண்பேராயமென்ப —திவாகரம்.

To these followers who went beside the king as his shadow, great respect was everywhere shown and on every occasion. Before launching upon the final step of action, they were consulted by the king. As the policy of the state depended on the direction and advice of these important groups, great care should necessarily have been bestowed on the selection and appointment of able men for these high offices. Whatever it was, in the list of officers who were grouped together as the two great councils, we find in both of them the office of *Sēnāpatiyar* or *Naḷipadaittalaivar*, which must necessarily indicate that the Sēnāpati was looked upon with great respect. It goes without saying that direction and advice must have been sought from him in times of political necessity. We shall study in detail the position of the Sēnāpati, the residence of the army, the kinds of armies, and the various functions that its members had to perform in ancient times.

What is the meaning of the term Sēnai? Sēnai means an army[5]. It is the same as Sainyam or Paḍai in Tamil. Sēnai is Sēnā in Sanskrit and Sēnē in Pāli and Singhalese. Paḍai or Sēnai was one among the six great *aṅgas* that belonged to the king. The other five were *Kuḍi*, *Kūḷ*, *Amaichchu*, *Naṭpu* and *Araṇ*.[6] The army was useful to the king in preventing and protecting the country from invasions and foreign aggressions, in spreading his fame by conquest and valour, and in increasing his source of income or revenue,[7] by spoils and tributes. To a king a fearless and strong army[8] was a very valuable asset and it is said that a small army composed of well trained and efficient warriors was far better than one which was large, not well trained and without a Sēnāpati or chief to direct and control. The army was divided into six main divisions which were *Mūlappadai* (also called *Koḍippaḍai* or *Muṉpaḍai*),[9] *Kūlippaḍai* (also called

5. The other meanings of the term are market, a fair, a host, an esculent root and weapons.

6. Kuraḷ S. II. v. 381

7. Siṟupāṇ: 1. 249.

8. Puṟam 3 Maduraik: I. 37-38. Perumpāṇ: I. 101-2. Peruṅg: I. 32, I. 65.

9. Peruṅg: III. 24. I. 39.

paḍaippaḍai and was perhaps composed of *Vēḷaikkāras* and *Vṛittikāras*), *Nāṭṭuppaḍai, Kāṭṭuppaḍai, Tuṇaippaḍai* and *Pagaippaḍai*.[10] There were many subdivisions or what are known as regiments which were in *Vēḷams* and *Kaḍagams*. The army consisted of seven parts *Uṛam*, two wings (*Iṛakkai*), *Madhyam*, *Pratigraham, Brishṭam* and *Kōḍi*.[11] Again the army was of four kinds, called *Daṇḍam, Maṇḍalam, Aśangatham* and *Bhōgam*.[12] The appearance of the army was like unto an ocean,[13] with

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10. Besides there was another division called *Suṟṟuppaḍai*, which was also called *Puḍaippaḍai* and *Suḷalpaḍai—vaṭṭam, parūvaḷai Ibid.* 24. 1. 40. *Padipaḍai* is the name for a hidden army. An idea of the army and its divisions can be had by a reference to the following information obtainable from Lexicons and Dictionaries :—

Paḍaittogai = Divisions of the army

3 patti	=	Sēnāmugam : A division of an army consisting of 3 chariots, 3 elephants, 9 horses and 15 infantry. Probably it was the army in the fore-front with the commander Sēnāpati.
3 Sēnāmugam	=	Kulumam or Kumudam
3 Kumudam	=	Kaṉam or Kaṉakam
3 Kaṉakam	=	Vākiṉi
3 Vākiṉi	=	Pirataṉai, Piraḷayam
3 Pirataṉai	=	Samu, Samuttiram
3 Samu	=	Aṉīkam 3 Samu = Saṅgam
10 Aṉīkam	=	Akkurōṇi
Akkurōṇi	=	20,870 chariots, 20,870 elephants, 65,610 horses, 104,350 infantry.

The main bodies of the army are given as under : Aṇi, Ākkam, Uṇḍai, Oṭṭu, Kūḻai, Kai, Tār, Tūśi, Nirai, Neṟṟi, Yūgam. The commentator of Takkayāgaparaṇi equating Tār with Tūśi, describes Tūśippaḍai as a division of the army arranged in the form of a long pointed needle with a broad central portion and an end well-formed, large, round and prominent, Canto, VIII. V. 515.

11. Kuraḷ

12. *Ibid.* Daṇḍam = Array arranged crosswise ; Maṇḍalam = aranged in the snake's rotating form ; Aśangatham = separated into parts ; Bhōgam = arranging regiments one behind the other.

13. Pattu : VI. 1. 180 ; Peruṅg ; 1. 58. 1. 97 ; Jīvak. 2169. The path in which the army moved was called Aśamapādai.

numerous elephants, horses, *patāgai*, flags, umbrellas, *palliyam*, *kūkaḷam*, etc. In general the army was composed of Infantry, Elephantry, War Chariots and Cavalry. The war chariots became an absent feature as days progressed and in latter days it came to be fashionably associated with the royal insignia of honour. These war chariots were a peculiar feature of the Mycenean Civilization of about 1200 *B. C.*[14] The cavalry force was composed of soldiers who did not wield weighty arms, but used only short bucklers. The infantry consisted of well-skilled archers and footmen of the ordinary class. The equipment of the archers were the bow and quiver of arrows. The footmen carried a spear or battle-axe on their right hand and a shield of ox-hide on their left. All these and the king wore a defensive armour called the anklet.[15]

God Kārtikēya or Kumāra is said to be the Sēnāpati of the forces of the Dēvas. He is variously called Mahāsēna, Mahāsēnāpati, Māsēṉaṉ, Sēnādipan, and Viśvaksēna. He is often the object of comparison when a king or commander is described. For instance in the Kāśākuḍi plates,[16] when describing the Pallava, it is said that "All (the kings) sprang from (this) race possessed power that was everywhere irresistable, large armies, pure descent, birth from a lotus, (and) great piety, (and therefore) resembled Kumāra, whose spear is everywhere irresistible, (who is also called) Mahāsēnā, who is the son of fire, who invented (the array of the army in the form of) a lotus (and who is also called) Subrahmaṇya. The great fierceness,—that resembled fire,—of the power of their arms dried up,—like the water of the ocean,—the irresistible valour of all enemies." To the warrior the God is Subrahmaṇya.[17] The head of the army is known by different names

14. War-chariots became an absent feature not only in India; we find no use of them among the Parthians, except for the conveyance of the females, who accompanied the nobles during their expeditions. See p. 409 of Rawlinson's Ancient monarchies—The sixth monarchy.

15. Kanakaśabhai: The Tamils 1,800 years ago.

16. S.I.I. Vol. II. Pt. III. No. 73. The Pallavas bore the names Skanda, Kumāra etc. See. Hist. Sketches. K. V. S. Aiyer. p. 33.

17. *Vāṉōr Vaṇaṅguviṟ-ṟāṉaittalaiva*—Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai. l. 260.
God Subrahmaṇya and Paraśur ma are said to have learnt everything about warfare under Śiva.

in Tamil Literature. He was known as Muṉṉōṉ, Sēnaivēndan,[18] Tāṉaivēndaṉ,[19] Tāṉaiirai,[20] Sēnaittalaivar, Tānaittalaivar,[21] Tandirattalaivar, Sēnāpati, Kuruśilar, Vayavar, Vayavar-perumagaṉ,[22] etc.[23] In ancient Ceylon he was known as Sēnēvirat, Sēnēnāyaka and Sēnāsāmanta.[24] The office of the Sēnāpati, was one of very high rank and it was very difficult to obtain the name and title of Sēnāpati. A hero in war, who by having displayed his boundless valour in the battle-field, after having stood in the front ranks of the army while engaged in war, and having received many serious wounds, and regardless of these having conquered many unconquerable enemies, and having loved war alone above all things, pleased the heart of the king, was considered fit to be dubbed as a commander of the forces, and to receive the title of Sēnāpati.[25] It is told that this title was higher even than that of a *mantri* (minister), and was called in Tamil *Ēṉādippaṭṭam* and that this title of honour was next only to that of kingship.[26] Ēṉādi was often the name of the commanders of all warriors, according to the commentator of Nīlakēśi. There was also a band or fillet of valour which was made of glittering gold and named Ēṉādi-śempoṟpaṭṭam. The Warrior to be dubbed as Sēnāpati was to wear the same when he received a signet ring from the king. The title of Sēnāpati was bestowed on persons who had pleased the heart of the king by their valour and achievements in the battle-field, on

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18. Peruṅg : See the references under the name.

19. *Ibid* ,, ,,

20. *Ibid* : I. 42. 1.167,

21. *Ibid* : I.33. 1.51. Tirumurug : 1.260.

22. Mudnraik : l. 336 ; Perumpāṇ : l. 102 ; Sirupāṇ : l. 249. For the other meanings of vayavaṉ and his connection with Sāmantu-seydal or Samanta-karaṇa. See Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIV p. 32,

23. The other synonyms found in Nighaṇḍu are : Kūḷiyar, Ēṟāḷar, Vāḷuḷavar, Maḷḷar, Maṟavar, Paḍar, Poruṉaṉ etc.

24. Mahāvamsa. Ep. Zey. Vol. III. Pt. V. p. 240f : Vol. I. p. 34.

25. Maduraik ; 1 . 725-6.

26. The title of Sēnāpati sometimes denoted a title of honour as in the case of the Southern Ikhāku rulers. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIII. p. 52 n. 8. See also note 28 on page 133.

the following pompous and ceremonial occasion.[27] A separate well-decorated pavilion was constructed, and in this the king and his queen with her female retinue, accompanied by the ministers, *purōhits*, astrologers, and the other great followers of the king would be found seated in their allotted seats. A ring called Ēṉādimōdiram made of gold, specially made for the occasion, with the name of the king engraved on it, was kept ready. On this occasion when all were gathered near the pavilion, and in the presence of Sēnāpatis and distinguished warriors the king would rise from his seat at the appointed auspicious hour and put the Ēṉādimōdiram (ring) on the finger of the hero who wore the gold forehead band Ēṉādippaṭṭam, and dubbed him saying "You are a Sēnāpati from now"[28]. After the presentation of the signet ring,[29] and after having called him a Sēnāpati, the king would bestow on him great gifts comprising of Nāḍus and Ūrs having annual incomes worth in lakhs, and also horses, elephants, chariots

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27. Perung: IV. 9. 1. 5f.

ஐம்பெருங்குழுவு மத்திகோசமும்
மன்பெருஞ்சிறப்பின் மனைப்பெருஞ்சனமும்
தேனேர் தீஞ்சொற் தேவிமார்களும்
தானையும் சூழத்தானேயணிந்து தன்
நாமமோதிர நன்னாட்கொண்டு
சேனாபதியிவனாகெனச்செறித்து

Jivak. 2167. செம்பொனீண் முடித்தேர் மன்னர் மன்னற்குப்
பைம்பொனாழிதொட்டான் படைகாட்டினா
னம்பொனொண் கழலான யிராவணம்
வெம்பவேறினன் வெல்கென வாழ்த்தினர்

வெண்பா : போர்க்கடலாற்றும் புரவித்தேர்ப்பல் படைக்குக்
கார்க்கடல்பெற்ற கரையன்றோ—போர்க்கெல்லாந்
தானாதியாகிய தார்வேந்தன் மோதிரஞ்சே
ரேனாதிப்பட்டத்திவன்

28. It is worthy of note that the highest dignity in the Parthian kingdom, next to the crown, was that of *Surena* or 'Field Marshal', and this position was hereditary in a particular family. He had many retainers and slaves heavily armed, under him. It was his right to place the diadem on the king's brow at his coronation. See p. 402, Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies—The Sixth Monarchy.

29. See note 27.

and other rich presents[30]. Further, on this very auspicious and glorious day, it was customary that a lady born of a high and respectable family would also be given in marriage to the new Sēnāpati with all the pomp and ceremony worthy of such an occasion.[31] Then the king would give advice to the hero to keep to his Dharma, to follow the rules laid down for him by the great law-givers, and would ask him to go and reside in peace and calm in the territorial divisions that had been granted to him, and to return whenever he required him. This is the description that we have in Tamil Literature and we find a strikingly corroborative account in the following copper-plate record.

Text [32]

Line 92. Dhīrō nityānuruktō drūḍa niśitamati-brahmavamśapra-dhpīō—

Line 93. lakshmībhūriddhatējā nayapinayanidhiśastra śastra-pravīṇah (1) mānyaśailēndra sārastira iti cha mayā sādd—

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30. Perung; IV. 9 l. 11f.

பன்னூறாயிரம் பழுதின்றிவருவன
மன்னூர்வேண்டுவ மற்றவர்க்கீத்துக்
குதிரையுந்தேருங்கொலைமருப்பியானையும்
எதிரிய சிறப்போடெனைப்பலநல்கி

Jivak. 2569. ஆழ்கடல்வையத்தில்லாவருநிதியரசு நல்ல
சூழ்மணியாழிசெம்பொற் சூட்டெடுகண்ணிகாதற்
றோழர்கட்கருளித்தொல்லையுழந்தவர் தம்மைத்தோன்ற
வாழ்கென நிதியுநாடு மன்னவன் கொடுப்பித்தானே

A Tamil inscription on a pillar set up in front of the Somēśvara temple at Gangavāra, Mysore State, dated in the thirty-third year of the reign of Udaiyār Sri Rājādhirājadēva, mentions that Seṇṇai-nāḍu in Taḍi-qaivaḻi *alias* Vikramaśōḻamanḍala was the *jīvita* conferred on the general *Sēnāpati* Rajēndraśōḻa Brahmamārāyar. E.C. Vol. IX. Dv. 76.

31. Peruṅg. IV. 9. l. 15f.

பண்பார்சாயற் பதுமாபதிதன்
கண்போறோழி காண்டகுகாரிகை
இயைந்தவேற்கணி ராசனையென்னும்
வயங்கிழை மாதரொடு வதுவைகூட்டிப்
பெருங்கடிச்சிறப்பும் பெயர்த்தொருங்கருளி

32. S. 1. 1. Vol. I. p. 56. l. 92f.

Line 94. ram saprasādam sēnāpatyēbhishiktō vahati janamudē paṭṭamārōpitam yaḥ : I [v : 30].

Mēḍamārya was a Vaiṣṇava. As a striking corroboration of the Tamil account described above, the declaration of the reigning king in the text quoted, is found in the Chellur plates of Vīra-Chōḍa, in Eastern Cālukya charter. In it he (the king) says that his commander-in-chief Mēḍamārya *alias* Guṇaratnabhūshaṇa, was a "general, firm, always attached, of strong and sharp mind, a light of the race of Brahman, an abode of prosperity, possessed of blazing splendour, a treasure house of polity and modesty, skilled in sciences and weapons, worthy of honour and as hard as the substance of the king of mountains," and that he was respectfully and graciously anointed by Vīra-Chōda, the king himself (*mayā*), "to the dignity of a commander-in-chief (*Sēnāpati*)" and bestowed "the *tiara* which was placed (on his head) to the delight of the people". Mayūraśarman [33] started his career as a political bandit and was given a fief by the Pallava emperor in whose service he entered as a general. He was anointed by the king as Sēnāpati (*paṭṭabhanddsampūjām*). Sēnāpatis received *paṭṭabhanda* (or '*pagree*'-binding) according to the Rāja Nīti-mayūkha.

In an inscription[34] it is stated that a certain amount of *poṟ* (gold) was received from Nakkaṉ Ēṉādi of Iṉṉambar-nāḍu which was situated on the northern banks of the river Kāvēri in the Cōḷa country, for the purpose of burning a perpetual lamp. From this record it is plain that Nakkaṉ Ēṉādi was the head of Iṉṉambar Nāḍu. From his name and from the fact that he was the head of the nāḍu, it is clear that he should have received both the Ēṉādi title and the nāḍu when his valour in war and his services to the king were recognised by the king.[35] That Sēnāpatis were heads of territorial divisions like Nāḍu and Ūr, are clearly known from epigraphs. Not only this, but kings themselves bore

33. Talguṇḍa inscription Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII. 32.

34. S.I. I. Vol. III. Pt. III. p. 261 No. 125.

35. The existence of places still bearing names like Ēṉādiyūr, Ēnādi-maṅgalam etc. are perhaps reminiscents of such facts. S.I.I. Vol. VII. No. 1011; A.R. p. 1934.

the sur-name Eṉādi.[36] Eṉādi Mēṟkuḍaiyāṉ Periyanāyaṉ *alias* Pottappirāyaṉ is mentioned in an inscription.[37] The very name Sēnāpati Jayamurināḍāḻvāṉ, who was one among the generals under Rājēndra Cōḻa, will make clear the above facts. One of the Śaiva saints (Nāyaṉār), mentioned in the Periyapurāṇam, was named Eṉādināyaṉār and his profession was to give military training to the king.

Many were the parts that were conquered by Rājarāja, the great Cōḻa monarch. From an inscription from modern Coorg it is seen that in the battle that was fought at Banāsagē a warrior called Mēnijā, who fought against him (Rājarāja) had showed great valour and courage, and that this Mēnijā was praised by the king himself, though the former was an enemy defeated by him, and with great satisfaction ordered his general Sēnāpati (Mahādaṇḍanāyaka) Pañcavanmahārāya, to raise the hero to the rank of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-Koṅgāḻvār, and to present him the village Mālavvi. The act of the king amply illustrates that the position and the title of Sēnāpati was difficult to obtain.[38]

Daṇḍanāyaka was the title given to Sēnāpatis, the head among warriors. Daṇḍa or Daṇḍu means an army and nāyaka means a head or a chief. In Ceylon Daṇḍanāyaka was also called Sēnēnayaka, *i.e.* the Nāyaka or head of the Sēna (army). From the

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36. Sōḻiya Eṉādi-Tirukku tuvaṉ (Puṟam. 394). Eṉādi-Tirukkiḻḻi (*Ibid* 167) Eṉādi; Maṇi. p. 205. Sēṉai occurs as the name of a person in S.I.I. Vol. III. p. 21.2.

37. No. 237 of M. E. R. for 1912.

38. Perundanam Daṇḍanāyaka occurs in No. 103 of 1913, and from the record it is seen that he was the head of Śāttamaṅgalam and that he was newly named Cōḻaṉ Kumāran Madhurāntakamārāyaṉ. From another record his full name appears to have been Cōḻan Kumaraṉ Parāntakamārāya Rājādhirāja Nilagaṅgarāiyar (102 of 1903). From these also we get corroborative evidence to show that the Sēnāpatis received gifts of Nāḍu and Ūr from the king and that they were named after their lords.

numerous inscriptions it is seen that *Vēḷār*[39] and *Araiyar*[40] which are found usually added to the names of chiefs and generals were suffixes that indicated their rank and position.

In epigraphical records, the generals and the governors of various territorial divisions, are often described with titles like Sēnādhipati Hiriy Heddawāla, Mahā-Pracaṇḍadaṇḍanāyaka,[41] Daṇṇanāyaka, Sarvādhikārin,[42] Mahāpradhāna,[43] Mannavērgaḍḍa Daṇḍanāyaka,[44] Kaikkōṭ-Sēnāpatimudaligal,[45] Sandivigrahi,[46] Mahāsāmantādhipati,[47] Agambaḍi-mudali[48] and so on. Of these the Mahāsāmantādhipati was entitled to the honour of five great musical instruments. They were allowed the honour of using elephants, and chariots, wearing robes of their offices, and parasols etc. which were a distinction of their rank. Parabala is said to be a designation of the commander of the army.[49] The word Mahādaṇḍanāyaka has been translated as 'judge',[50]

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39. In ancient days the Sēnāpatis gave many gifts to temples and one such instance is furnised in a record which states that Sēnāpati Rājarāja Paraṇṇi Parākshaśaṇār Vīracōḷa Iruṅgōvēḷār, made a gift for the bathing of Kāraṇai Viṭankadēvar in sandal paste, by having purchased lands from two villages and leaving them with the temples (131 of 1912). From this it is plain that Sēnāpatis had also the name Iruṅgōvēḷār or simply Vēḷār.

40. The suffix Araiyar is found in many records for example No. 232 of 1933; and No. 418 of S. I. I. Vol. V.

41. Ep. Car. Vol. V. Hn. 53.

42. *Ibid*. Vol. II. SB. 240.

43. *Ibid*. SB. 118.

44. *Ibid*. Vol. VII. Sk. 111.

45. Kaikkōḷ-Mudaligaḷ is equal to Sēnāpati and Nāyaṉ among them was Mahāsēnāpati.

46. Ep. Car. XI. Mg. 21; V. Ak. 194; X. Kl. 63.

47. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII p. 334.

48. No. 85 of 1918; 136 of 1900; etc.

49. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. p. 188.

50. Bloch. Ann. Rep. A.S.R. 1903-4 Bloch's list of Bhīṭa seals, Daṇḍanāyaka 44-51.

'chief officer of the police',[51] 'a high, probably judicial officer'.[52] It refers etymologically to a judicial and military title as Daṇḍa means an army or rod of punishment.[53] The only technical sense of Daṇḍanāyaka, is given as Commander, Sēnāni in the Jaina Lexicon.[54] The synonym of the term Daṇḍanāyaka is used in the sense of 'general'.[55] The Pariyasadda mahā-nnavo gives for the term the alternative meaning Sēnāpati and Sēnāni. Hence it is almost clear that Mahādaṇḍanāyaka means a commander-in-chief. Balādhikrita,[56] Daṇḍanāyaka,[57] Mahāpracaṇḍadaṇḍanāyaka are the main designations of the generals. The distinctive differences between each one of the offices, if any, are not discernible in the present state of our knowledge.

In ancient days the country was divided into many quarters, each one representing a class of people, pursuing a particular vocation in life, and having their own modes of existence. The following were some among them, as can be gathered from Literature, and epigraphs. Kūttarśēri,[58] Anthaṉarśēri,[59] Muṭṭigaiśēri,[60] Kammāṉarśēri,[61] Puṟaichchēri,[62] Parattaiyarśēri,[63] Puṟachchēri,[64]

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51. Marshall : Ann. Rep. A.S.R. 1911-12 p. 54 ; Ibid 1914-15 p. 82.
52. Ep. Ind. Vol. XVI.
53. Petersburg Dictionary.
54. Abhidānachintāmani II. 9 and Kalpadrukōśa. I. 6. v. 17.
55. Kāmandaka's Nītisara XVII. p. 49.
56. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. p. 334.
57. Daṇḍanāyaka occurs also in Ceylon inscriptions Ep. Zey. Vol. I. p. 47.
58. Peruṅgadai : p. 402 ; 751.
59. *Ibid*. p. 195 ; 537.
60. *Ibid*. I. 43. 1. 200.
61. S. I. I. II. p. 42f. 82/92 Īḻachchēri, quarter of Ceylonese emigrants ; Tīṇḍēchchēri different from Paṟaichchēri *Ibid* ; and Piḍārachchēri *Ibid* p. 46.
62. *Ibid*.
63. Maduraik : 1. 329.
64. Paṭṭinap. p 301 ; Peruṅg. p. 575.

Miṉvilaiñarśēri,[65] Aḍimaichcheri,[66] Iḍaichchēri,[67] Taḻichchēri,[68] Talaichchēri,[69] Yavanarśēri,[70] etc. As is seen from the above list every group had its own *śēri* or quarter. So also the army or *Sēnai* had its own quarter or *śēri* in the country. It was called *Sēnaichchēri* or *Tānaichchēri*.[71] This quarter is found mentioned in inscriptions and literature, and was also called Sēnāmugam,[72] Paḍaichcheri,[73] Puṟappaḍaiviḍu.[74] But the term Paḍaiviḍu is, generally taken to denote encampment. This quarter was the permanent residence of the Sēnāpati, the army and others that were connected with them and was generally frequented by the king who also used to stay in the *śēri* for pretty long periods.[75] The whole atmosphere was filled with the sounds of the military men, their elephants, horses and chariots etc. The residence of the Sēnāpati in the *śēri* was situated in a place surrounded on all sides by natural scenery.[76] On the banks of a running stream, beside the great ghat which was full with green foliage and thick shades, he dwelt in a palatial building full of all architectural and sculptural work, and which towered high as if reaching the skies. When there was no war the Sēnāpati and his warriors used

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65. Muduraik. 1. 329.
66. Jīvak. 288.
67. *Ibid* 422 ; Malai. 1.451.
68. Quarter near the temple. A. R. for 1926. p. 67.
69. ,, ,, gate of a village. *Ibid*. p. 64.
70. Perung. p. 540. Puṟamadirśēri. p. 575 : Puṟañjēri : Silap. pp. 332f.
71. Perung : I, 43. l. 203, I, 37, 1. 262. II. 8 1, 59. Ed. Ind. XXII. p, 142f. The particular streets in which they lived were also called after them Cf. Āṇaiyāṭkaṭḷeru. Villigaḷteru. Other quarters like Abhimāṉabhūshaṇatterinda vēḷam may also be noted.
72. The Sēnāmugam was considered with great honour Cf. Silap. 25. l. 193f. Sēnāmugam : S. I. I. II. Pt. III, No. 66 p. 269. 1. 247. No. 81 of 1927-8. and A.R. for 1927-8. p. 53. Kulōttuṅgasōḻan-uta. p. 217. The word was also used to denote a prime division of the army.
73. Perung : III. 3. 1. 49,
74. *Ibid*. p. 534.
75. *Ibid*. II. 8. 1. 58.9
76. *Ibid*. III. 3. 1. 39f.

to spend their time in merriment and joy.[77] The military quarter Tāṉaichchēri, was filled with many huts in which the soldiers lived. They were called Pāḍikkoṭṭil,[78] Tāṉaikkoṭṭil,[79] and Padaikkalakkoṭṭil.[80] The quarter was occupied by Maṟavar, Hastikōśar,[81] Mlēchchas, the commissariat department, persons belonging to Muṭṭigai, workmen of the Kammavālaya[82] and the Vrittikāras.[83] The last of these were military soldiers who received *Jivitas* and gifts of royal favour for their living. They were to fight when there was war. They were like unto the mercenary troops. In inscriptions another group is mentioned by the name Vēḷaikkāras. The meaning of the term has been variously guessed and great confusion has been made by equating it with Pūvēlaikkāras, a term which occurs in literature.[84] But there is no doubt that they were warriors[85] who usually distinguished themselves by tying round their left ankles a Toḍar. This practice was also frequent among the Maṟavas of Tamil works. The

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77. Maduraik. 1. 225f.

நெடுநீர்ப்பேரியாறு நிறைந்து விலங்கருத்து
பல்வழிக்கூடிப் படியவாகிச்
செல்வழியெல்லாஞ் சிறந்த கம்பலை
கரைபொருதுலாவுந் திரையொலி கடுப்ப
நிறைவளங்கவினிய மறுகிருபக்கமும்
அந்திவானத்தகடு முறையிருந்த
ஒண்கேழுடுவினொளி பெறப்பொலிந்து
கண்ணுறநிவந்த பண்ணமை படுகாற்
கைவினை நுனித்த மைதவழ்மாடத்
தரும்படைச்செல்வ ரமர்ந்தினிதுறையும்
பெரும் படைச்சேரி

See also Tiruviḷaiyāḍaṟpurāṇam, Section 59 vv. 15-16.

78. Perung. I. 43. I. 199.

79. *Ibid.* 24. I. 152

80. *Ibid.* p. 678.

81. *Ibid.* I. 9. I. 5. Hastikōśa and Vīrakōśa were heads of the elephantry and cavalry.

82. *Ibid.* I. 43. I. 199-201.

83. *Ibid.* III. 19. 1.57.

84. '*Explanation of Certain Words occuring in Tamil Literature*' by T. A. G. Rao.

85. This is also clear from the Bēlūr inscription. No. 112. Bēlūr Tk. Hassan District.

Vēḷaikkāras were armed[86] men of great valour. Their help was enlisted when time (*veḷai*) or circumstance demanded. The Maṟavars and others were hardy Tamil soldiers and to that race, loyalty was the 'be all and end all' of their life.[87] Vēḷaikkāras also mentioned in the Ceylonese chronicle Mahāvaṃśa. They formed the strongest portions of the Singhalese army. They are mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājarāja, and others. They were famous for their martial qualities. They went to Ceylon accompanying the merchant guilds which frequently visited that island. They obtained many Jīvitas, protections, etc. from the kings of that island, and became an important factor in the Singhalese army. Once Vijayabāhu the king of Ceylon intended to invade India, and for that he began to gather his army. But with a high sense of patriotism the Vēlaikkāra troops, refused to invade their motherland and scotched up an internal rebellion. Seeing this and understaning the intention of his troops, which formed the strength of his force, the king had to abandon his intended invasion of India.[88] Vēlaikkāras figured in many capacities in that kingdom. They protected the great Buddhist *vihāras*, and their strength and valour was felt everywhere. Local princes and chiefs of that country, when they attempted to gain the throne for themselves had by many means to persuade these troops to join their sides, for, if they were not persuaded success in any of their attempts was well-nigh impossible. In some records these are called Mūṉṟukai-Māsēnai and Mūṉṟukai-Tiruvēlaikkārai[89]. There were many divisions among these Vēlaikkāras like, Velaṅgai, Idaṅgai, Sirudanam, Perudanam, Paḷḷigaḷdanam, Vaḍugar[90],

86 Compare the expression '*āyudapūṇiyāna Vēḷaikkārar*' found in a Srīrangam inscription.

87. Heads of regiments, in the period of Kulōttuṅga III and Rājarāja III, made many compacts among themselves and they used to make strange vows which are recorded in the inscriptions. Cf. 516/02 435, 440 of 1913.

88. C. J. S. Vol. II. Pt. III. p. 162f. Many references are found in the history of Ceylon to the fact that the kings of that island often resorted to the mainland for contingents of armies.

89. S. I. I. Vol. IV. No. 1398.

90. Vaḍugars were perhaps immigrants from the Telugu country and the hills. See also Sēkkiḻar's stanza in Mūrtināyanār-purāṇam in which occurs "Pōr vaḍugak-Karunaḍar maṉṉan".

Malaiyāḷar,[91] etc. Sirudanam and Perudanam were among the titles which the warriors received as marks of royal recognition of their valour and capacity. They were also called Sirudanattu Vaḍugakkāvalar, Valaṅgai Vēlaikkārar. The Vēlaikkāras figure prominently in the troops of Rājarāja and Rājēndra-cōḷa. Mūṉṟukai Vēlaikkāras very probably consisted of the Valaṅgai Vēlaikkāras,[92] the Iḍaṅgia Vēlaikkāras[93] and those that did not belong to both of these, but were recruited from among the Vaḍugar, Malayāḷar nationalities and the Valañjiyars[94]. In S. I. I. Vol. II. p. 9f. the following regiments are mentioned.

1. Perundanattu Ānaiyāṭkaḷ
2. Paṇḍitaśōḷa-terinda Villigaḷ
3. Uttamaśōḷa-terinda Villigaḷ Aṇḍaḷakarttāḷar
4. Nigariliśōḷa-terinda uḍa-nilai Kudiraichchēvagar
5. Mummaḍiśōḷa-terinda Yānaippāgar
6. Vīraśōḷa-aṇukkar
7. Parāntaka Koṅgāḷvār
8. Mummaḍiśōḷa-terinda parivārattār
9. Kēraḷāntaka terinda-parivārattār
10. Mūlaparivāra-vittēru *alias* Jananātha-terinda parivārattār
11. Siṅgaḷāntaka-terinda parivārattār
12. Sirudanattu Vaḍugakkāvalar
13. Valaṅgai Paḷampaḍaigaḷilār
14. Perundanattu Valaṅgai Vēlaikkārappaḍaigaḷ
15. Sirudanattu Valaṅgai Vēlaikkārappaḍaigaḷ

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91. Malaiyāḷar were settlers from the Malabar. When the people of Rōhaṇa rebelled against Parākrama Bāhu I of Ceylon, the Kēraḷas took to the side of the Rōhaṇa people. Mv. Ch. LXXIV.

92. Valaṅgai Vēlaikkāras are mentioned in Mys. Arch. Rep. 1920. p. 31 and in the Smaller Leiden plates Ep. Ind. Vol. XXII. p. 281, it is stated that the copper plate edict was written by Nigariliśōḷaṉ Madhurāntakaṉ, one of the Vikramōbharaṇa-teṟinda-Valaṅgai Vēlaikkāras of Uṭkkōḍi. His signature is also attested. In No. 9 of 1910, a certain Dāsaya Nāyaka figures as the Commander Sēnāpati of Vīra Vallaḷa's Valaṅga force.

93. It is however remarkable that this section does not find any separate mention.

94. Karuṇākara Teṉ-Ilaṅgai Valañgiyar *i.e.*, Karuṇākara Vīrar Valañjiyars of South Ceylon. A. R. for 1923. p. 106.

16. Alagiyaśōla-terinda Valangai Vēlaikkārar
17. Aridurkalanka-terinda " "
18. Ilaiyarāja-terinda " "
19. Chandiraparākrama-terinda " "
20. Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-terinda " "
21. Mūrtavikramābharaṇa " " "
22. Nittavinōda-terinda " "
23. Rājakanthīrava-terinda " "
24. Rājarāja-terinda " "
25. Rājavinōda-terinda " "
26. Raṇamukhabhīma-terinda " "
27. Vikramābaraṇa-terinda " "
28. Kēraḷāntakavāśal Tirrumeykāppāḷar
29. Aṇukkavāśal "
30. Parivāra Meykāppāḷar[95]

95. Inscriptions from Kilappavur in the Tinnevelly district mention a certain class of men called *Muṇai-edir-mōgar* whose commanders *Daṇḍanāyakam-śeyvār* make certain gifts to the two temples of the place. The term Daṇḍanāyakam suggests that they must have been a military body and this conclusion is supported by a record (395 of 1917) dated in the reign of Māṟavarmaṇ Vikrama Pāṇḍya, in which the other name of this body is given as *Teṉṉavaṟ Āpattudavigaḷ* meaning 'the helpers of the Pāṇdya king in times of distress', which may be said to correspond to the king's own regiment of the present day. These are also mentioned in 396 of 1917. *Meykāppār* must have also been another name of such a class of military regiments. These bodies are perhaps similar to the community called *Padaikkāṇavar*, *Perumpaḍaiyōm* of other inscriptions. The observations of the Venetian traveller Marco Polo deserve to be noted. He says that there are about the king a number of Barons who attend upon him. 'These ride with him, and keep always near him, and have great authority in the kingdom. They are called the King's Trusty Lieges. And you must know that when the king dies, and they put him on the fire to burn him, these Lieges cast themselves into the fire round about his body, and suffer themselves to be burnt along with him. For they say they have been his comrades in this world, and that they ought also to keep him company in the other world'. *See* Elliot & Dowson: The History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. III. The descriptions suit well the inscriptional references. Meykāppāḷar of South Indian inscriptions may be equated to the *Meykāppār*, *Vädärum*, *Sēnē Virād* and *Bamba Senevi* of the Ceylon epigraphs. Ep. Zey. Vol. I. p. 34.

31. Palvagai Palampaḍaigaḷilār[96]

That these regiments[97] were really a strong element in the armies of the great Cōḷa kings is borne out by many inscriptions which speak of them. After some time these troops, either by having left the vocation of war or because of the gradual lapse of royal favour which meant absence of Vrittis and Jivitas, they had to eke out their livelihood by the pursuit of callings other than military. These classes[98] became separated into different castes pursuing different vocations in life. Nowadays we find castes like Sēnāpati or Paḍaiyāchchi generally in the South Arcot, Trichy, Salem, Tanjore and other Districts. The word Paḍaiyāchchi is the direct translation of the Sanskrit Sēnāpati. Having left the vocation of war these Paḍaiyāchchis began life as agriculturists by tilling the soil and living on the produce of the land. These came to be called in later days as *Araśavaṇṇi* (*i.e.* Paḍaiyāchchi), Vaṇṇiya-Kṣatriyas, and Gauṇḍas. Eighteen of the musicians of the Rājarājēśvara temple originally belonged to one or other of the thirty-one regiments noted above, and not less than twelve were from the Vēḷaikkāra troops.[99] Some of these regiments were in the charge of the management of the minor shrines of the temple and they had to provide for the requirements of those shrines. Others took money from the temple on interest which was payable in cash, for various purposes the nature of which is not known. These

96. Another inscription informs a new regiment called Aṇukkabhīmarpaḍai and states that a certain Viṭaṅkan was the commander of the same. No. 94 of 1932/3. A regiment called Abhimānabhūṣaṇa-terinda Kaikkōlar is referred to in No. 417 of S.I.I. Vol. V. Three regiments which went by the names Pārthivaśēkhara-terinda-Kaikkōḷar, Gaṇḍarāditta-terinda-Kaikkōḷar and Porāntaka-terinda-Kaikkōḷar, are also known from a record of Rājēndra-Cōḷa I. No. 120 of 1930-31.

97. Regiments of Soldiers with coat of mail or armour are mentioned as *Anthaḷakattāḷar*. S.I.I. Vol. II. p. 98. Cf. Peruṅg: I. 46.1. 243.

98. The Idaṅgai and Valaṅgai came to be divided into 98 subsects in each and these communities had their own representations. *See* No. 489 of 1912; No. 34 of 1913 etc. The Sirudanam and the Perudanam had their own representatives called *Sirudanattuppaṇimagan* and *Perundanattuppaṇimagan* respectively. S.I.I. II. p. 96 and No. 618 of 1912.

99. No. 627 of 1909.

facts show that much interest was created in them in temple affairs. Thus they performed other tasks than military,—in times of peace and unemployment in the battlefield, and as warfare was not a periodical occurrence. Rājarāja's military chiefs were learned men and some of them were judges, arbitrators and the like.[100] Not only this, in general, many military men were alike famed in war and civil affairs. Śēkkiḻār, one of the greatest poets of the Tamil land, was a great Sēnāpati by profession. Mēḍamārya, the great and loved Sēnapati of Vira Chōda was a learned man skilled in sciences and weapons.

(To be concluded)

100. Nos. 64 & 95 of the same year's collection.

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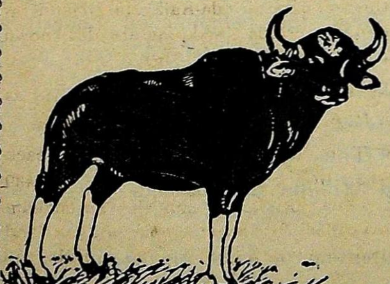

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BHADRAVATI - BANGALORE

RUDRA IN THE ṚGVĒDA

By G. Sitaramiah, M.A.

Rudra occupies a prominent place in the Vēdic pantheon. Although he is invoked in three hymns only in the Ṛgvēda, he is by no means a subordinate divinity because he combines in himself the demoniac as well as angelic features and he is the only god who is feared and held in awe by the Vēdic bards.

The etymological sense of 'Rudra' is uncertain. According to the usual derivation from the root 'rud', the term 'Rudra' means 'Howler'. But this meaning does not take us far in understanding the Ṛgvēdic conception of the god.

Vēdic scholars hold that gods in the Ṛgvēda are nothing if they are not personifications of natural phenomena and they have explained the physical basis of the conception of Rudra in several ways. V. G. Rele, author of "The Mysterious Kundalini" maintains, in explaining the biological form of 'Rudra', that he is seen as "a thick dense protuberance, the Pons Varolli, on the cerebro-spinal nervous system, just above the medulla oblongata, the upper terminal end of the spinal chord".

Some scholars regard the conception of 'Rudra' as the Vēdic anticipation of the conception of Śiva of later days. Professor Macdonell, however, opines that the pehnomenon underlying Rudra's nature is the storm, not pure and simple, but in its baleful aspect seen in the destructive agency of lightning.

Being a Dēva, Rudra possesses the common attributes of all members of the celestial clan. Thus he is beautiful, wears ornaments, is very powerful and brilliant and upholds the cosmic order 'Ṛta'.

Let us now turn our attention to some of the picturesque epithets applied to Rudra in the Ṛgvēda. In the first place, he is regarded as the father of the 'Maruts'—the storm gods. He is

ruddy (babhru) and fair-lipped (Su-Śipraḥ) and wears a glorious necklace (Niṣka). He is mightiest of the mighty (Tavasām Tavastamaḥ) and therefore unassailable. The most striking idea is that Rudra is regarded as the best of all that is *born* (Śreṣṭho jātasya śriyāsi). He wields the thunderbolt (vajra-bāhu). His hands are merciful. He is full of remedies for the afflicted as he is regarded as the physician of physicians. Young and unaging he is lord (Īśāna) of the world. He is also destructive like a terrible beast. He is spoken of as a bull and a boar. He is also bountiful and auspicious, is easily invoked and is a giver of much health and wealth.

Thus we observe that Rudra is eulogised in superlatives. The desire to win His goodwill is seen in almost all the stanzas of the 'Rudra Sūkta'. The poets implore him to slacken his bow and to bestow upon them the most salutary medicines which will enable them to live for a hundred winters.

Ṛgvēda being the poetic response of the primitive Āryans to the mystery that is implicit in life, such occurrences as terrible lightning and peals of thunder were attributed to a divinity, '*Rudra*'. Hence being regarded as malevolent he is highly praised in order that he may not discharge his lightning shaft against them.

Rudra is one of the few gods who have special distinguishing characteristics. Although he possesses the divine qualities of brilliance, knowledge, power, beauty and immortality, he does not possess them in the same degree as the other gods possess them. Uśas is the most beautiful, and Agni is the most knowing of the gods; Rudra like Indra is the most powerful of all the gods.

Thus we see in Rudra, a divinity which is not wholly malevolent. The sinful are punished and the prayers of the others are justly rewarded. The invocations with reference to Rudra are all humble, honestly made and they really come from the heart. (Hṛda ā Sutaṣṭam)

THE SULTANS OF DELHI

By V. Raghavendra Rao, M.A., B.T.

The Muslim period of Indian History has been engaging the attention of Indian scholars perhaps as an unconscious protest against such cavalierly statements that the Sultans of Delhi left no fruitful ideas or institutions behind them. [1]

It would be unfair to tar them all as a race of "savage and blood-thirsty tyrants" revelling alternately in unbridled slothfulness and uncontrolled massacre of the innocents.

Nor can one blame Islam for the devastating zeal of its neophites. Most of the Turkish conquerors assumed a zeal for Islam merely to cloak their innate lust for plunder and conquest. The accumulated wealth of India was a far more justifiable excuse for their unabashed robbery and plunder. "The real object of the invader was not the temple but the fabulous wealth it contained. Had the Hindu temple been as simple and austere as the Muslim mosque, Mahmud of Ghazna would not have invaded India time and again." [2] Unlike the Arab and the Persian, the Turk lacked the civilising force of a cultural inheritance and utilised Islam merely to sanctify his predatory instincts. "The greatest discredit to the religion came when the Ottoman Turks adopted Mohammedanism and enthusiastically, but selfishly, sponsored its cause." [3]

In spite of their inordinate lust, these Sultans were obliged to compromise with their ideals by adopting a tone of moderation in India. It was obviously impossible for them to exterminate or proselytise the millions of non-believers.

The Arab conquest of Sind is an instructive episode in the history of two great races of India. Having obtained victory by

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1. The Oxf. Hist. Ind. V. A. Smith. p. 258.
2. Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule. S. M. Jaffar. P. 52.
3. A History of World Civilisation. Swain, J. E. p. 52.

his superior force, the conqueror Muhammad Bin Kasim conciliated the vanquished by requiring their co-operation in the administration of the conquered domains. The chivalrous Arab could well admire Brahmin and Kṣatriya valour which joyously welcomes death in the battlefield no less than the warrior of the Crescent. So their lives were spared and their religious institutions were sponsored by the Muslim State with a definite assignment of revenues for their maintenance.[4]

The central Asiatic Turk felt no such prompting of nobler emotions and delighted in attacking with pick-axe and hammer every temple that crossed his path. The Hindu temples became the goal of the Ghaznvide invader because of their stored-up wealth; and the idols became objects of icono-clasam more out of spite than zeal for one's religion. Scholars are agreed in condemning such devastating force of Mahmud who simply revelled with a barbarous joy, in the destruction of the priceless examples of Hindu Art.[5] The temples of Muttra could not escape the fire of his vandalistic zeal, though they perforce extorted his admiration for their artistic lavish. The testament of History pillories Mahamud for his un-Islamic acts, while condoning Islam as a religion of peace.

Indeed Mahammad employed Hindus in his army and secured them an honourable place in his very capital city, where they could continue their religious rites quite undisturbed.[6] Far more remarkable is that a Hindu poet could describe the exploits of Sultan Mahmud in the Sanskrit language, giving us a lead into fresh avenues of study.[7]

Mahammud of Ghori, the first Muslim conqueror of India bequeathed his Indian Empire to his well beloved slave, Kutub uddin Aibak. This " Moon Lord " Aibak cut himself away from the apron strings of the caliphate and established a truly Indo-Muslim State. His Kutub-minar tower and Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque certainly

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4, Studies in Indo-Muslim History. Hodiwala. H. J, p. 96.
5. Muhammad of Ghazna. Nazim: pp. 163, 164.
   ,, Habib: p. 81— 83.
6. Muhammad of Ghazna. Nazim: p. 164.
7. "The Hindu". 29th Feb. 1933.

proclaimed the might of Islam (Quwwat) rather than serving as a meeting-place of Hind-Muslim art, as a recent writer avers[8]. A strange union of hearts, this building of Mosque with the raw materials of Hindu temples! For this the ardour of victory must subside.

But the dream of an Indo-Moslem State was realised by Altamish and culminated in the vigorous personality of Ghias uddin Balban. Balban established firmly his authority as a most-dreaded Sultan by suppressing impartially the Turkish nobles and Rajput rebels.

Balban's government was the very negation of a theocratic state. He was the founder of an autocratic system, drawing its inspiration from the Persian tradition of "the divinity that hedges round the Kingship". His life was one long toil to exalt his throne and dynasty with political formulas and formal conventions. He thought of Royalty as greater than the subjects. He believed, like Kaiser Wilhem II, that King was responsible to God alone. No ulama, no amir dared to question the authority of this Vicegerent of God on earth. Such a military system was bound to collapse in the hands of his nerveless successors. But Balban had done a great service to the nascent Islamic State by crushing all oppositions to it from within and without.

The claim of Dr. Topa,[9] that this empire "was broad based," "free from racial discriminations," and was "progressive" is contradicted by himself elsewhere. He admits that Balban did not acclimatise himself completely to Indian atmosphere. Fear was the sole aim of his government.[10] It was left to his successors to break this spell of horror and build a bridge of union between the two great peoples of India. Dr. Topa confesses that to Balban "Kingship signified oppression and cruelty"[11]

It was Jalaluddin Khalji who exorcised the frigid conservatism and nightmare of force that had entrenched themselves round the throne of Delhi. He humanised politics and Indianised

8. Pre-Moghul Politics. Dr. Ishwara Topa. p. 75.
9. *Ibid*. pp. 76, 77, 79.
10. *Ibid*. p. 69.
11. *Ibid*. p. 80.

the alien system of government. His was a genuine Islam which treated all living things with kingly impartiality. He refused to award the time-honoured sentence of death to robbers and rebels, as being opposed to the Shariat.[12] His peroration to the rebel prisoners is strangely reminiscent of Buddhism. "Evil for evil is easily returned; but he only is great who returns evil with good." [13]

This new-fangled generosity drew a respectful protest from a member of the old Balbanite school of blood and iron; [14] but the Sultan would not budge from his high moral plane. He would rather abdicate his heavy dignity than compromise with his dearest conviction not to dip his hand in the blood of the innocents. On another occasion, the same minister Ahmad Habib pointed out to the sultan the impolicy of withdrawing from the siege of Ranthamboor, just to save a few useless Hindu lives—The reply of the sultan was eloquent of his noble attitude to his Hindu subjects. He laughed and said "Do you not see that the Hindus pass every day by my palace, blowing their conches and beating their drums on their way to worship their idols by the bank of the Jumna? They follow the laws of their infidelity before my eyes, despising me and my royal authority. The enemies of the faith—in my capital and before my eyes—live in luxury and splendour and arrogantly pride themselves over the Mussalmans on account of their prosperity and wealth. Shame on me—I leave them in luxury and pride and content myself with the *tankas* I get from them by way of charity."[15] This is a frank confession of the impolicy of intolerance in India. Indeed toleration was the rule, intolerance was an exception.

This process of secularisation of politics and overthrow of the vested interests reached its apogee in the reign of Allauddin Khilji who asserted in emphatic language that his royal will alone was to be the guiding principle of his state. "Whatever

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12. *Ibid.* pp. 105, 106, 109.
13. *Ibid.* p. 109.
14. Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule. Jaffer, S. M. pp. 52-53.
15. Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule. Jaffar, S. M. p, 52-53.

I consider to be for the good of the state, I order", said he.[16] He brushed aside all cobwebs of hieratic influence and made himself the sole arbiter of the state. To enforce his will and ensure peace and order, Allaudin applied the pruning axe impartially to all the tallest poppies of the state, both Muslim and Hindu. His military regulations and sumptuary reforms gave his grateful subjects a sorely needed peace and plethora of the necessities of life. No wonder that Ibn Batuta found the memory of the sultan enshrined in the hearts of his subjects as a *Mā-Bāp* ruler. "Of all the sultans of Delhi Allaudin was the best; and the people of India eulogise him highly"[17]. In spite of the caveats of V. A. Smith[18] about the value of such panegyrics, impartial verdict must credit the sultan with a high degree of successful statesmanship.

His economic regulations cannot be easily dismissed as "crude economics"[19]. The sultan's order, in fixing up the prices of articles, did not entail punishment for failure to do so. While the merchants tried to corner goods, the sultan would throw into the market fresh stocks from Royal granaries and thus beat down monopolist tendencies.[20] Such a merchant was simply boycotted socially and not punished by the State. So a regulated freedom of trade seems better than cut-throat competition which simply destroys thousands by its merciless logic.

This apotheosis of the King as absolute master of the destinies of State received its imprimatur from the greatest poet of the age, Amir Khusru.[21] This 'bulbul' of Hindustan hailed the reigning sultan as "the shadow of God." To him the King became a law unto himself. "This greatest intellectual" of the age kept a blind eye to the parricidal sin of the sultan and exulted in his conquests that ultimately the very fish in the Ganges became

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16. Mediaeval India. S. Lanepoole p. 108.
17. History of India as told by its own Historians. Elliot & Dowson, Vol. III. p. 599.
18. Oxf. Hist. Ind. V. A. Smith. p. 231.
19. Camb. Hist. Ind. Vol. III. p. 119.
20. History of India etc. by Elliot & Dowson. Vol. III, pp. 599 600.
21. Pre Mughal Politics. Dr. Ishwar Topa. p. 132-134. Campaigns of Allauddin Khalji. Mohammed Habib p. 1-2.

Sunni.[22] Yet he admired the Hindu woman for her Sati, the superiority of the Indians in philosophy, mathematics, the game of chess, and Indian music, "superior to the music of any other country." Learned men from all parts of the world have come to study in India, while no Brahman has travelled outside India.[23]

Far from acting as an unbridled despot, intolerant of advice and contradiction, Allauddin instituted the wholesome practice of consulting the army chiefs in his military expeditions and civilians and men of learning in his civil affairs.[24] The greatest despot of the age could well appreciate freedom of speech and agree to harness his unbounded ambitions to the more sensible projects of extending his sway at least to the frontiers of Hindustan.[25]

"Allauddin's political efforts were crowned with success; but he failed in his political objective. He could not eventually succeed in cementing the foundations of State."[26] In these words Dr. Topa does scant justice to the greatest administrator of Delhi. The failure of the sultan was due to his subjects who did not realise the identity of interests, and who still looked on one another with a degree of insufferable contempt as infidels on one side and with a contemptuous hatred as uncouth conquerors on the other side. Rather, the sultan's reign was full of fruitful ideas and institutions; but he had not the resources of the hearty co-operation of an army of loyal servants willing to carry on the King's government.

The time-honoured practice of the "struggle for survival" in the Muslim state failed to inspire into the Amirs around the throne a feeling of loyalty and contentment. On the other hand, it encouraged hypocrisy and treachery as the safest laws of

22. Life & Works of Amir Khusrau by Mohammed Wahid Mirza. p, 231. The campaigns of Alauddin Khilji by Muhammad Habib. pp. 35, 36, 41, 103.
23. History of India—by Elliott & Dowson III p. 546. Life & Works of Amir Khusrau. M. W. Mirza. pp 183-4.
24. History of India etc. Elliot & Dowson Vol. III pp. 182, 191-192.
25. Camb. Hist. Ind. Vol. III. p. 102.
26. Pre Mughal Politics, Topa p. 169.

self-preservation.—Allaudin's reign taught his co-religionists "that kingship could be usurped without compunction." [27]

Mubarak Khalji tried the experiment of advancing Hindus to the position of equality with those of the old Turkish Amirs. [28] This act evoked the revolt of vested interests which ultimately submerged in a blood-bath of both the sultan and his ideas of union and equality within a national state. The reactionaries triumphed under the lead of Ghaziuddin Tuglak who thanked God that he saved the state from the hands of the parvenus and infidels. [29]

But the time-spirit was stronger than the triumphant sword of the Ghazi Malik. His own innate reverence to God and intimate marital relations with Rajput ladies forced him to temper justice with mercy and look upon his sovereignty as a public trust in the eyes of God. "A new spirit and a new vision characterised his reign."[30] Promotion of the economic well-being of the millions of his non-Muslim subjects became the central idea of his government.[31] Construction of canals, reduction of land dues on account of drought or famine and fixation of the assessment at one-tenth of the produce, all tended to the identification of the interests of the ruler and the ruled. But the forging of a spiritual bond between the two great races was left into the abler hands of his son and successor the much maligned Muhammad Bin Tuglak.

Verily Muhammad Bin Tuglak can easily claim his place in Indian History only by the side of Akbar the Great. In many ways, this visionary enthusiast was a forerunner of Akbar who fulfilled the dream of new India in finding a Hindu-Muslim unity. Sultan Muhammad revelled in the company of philosophers and learned men of all sects,[23] which shocked the orthodox nose of Barāni who satisfied his impotent rage by blackening the memory of his patron as an atheist and an enemy of Islam. The Emperor

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27. *Ibid.* p. 171.
28. *Ibid.* p. 173.
29 *Ibid.* p. 179-80.
30. *Ibid.* p. 187.
31. Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule. Jaffar. S. M. pp. 34. 40.
32. Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughlak by Mahdi Hussain. pp. 129, 197-198.

sternly punished all frivolous complaints against the Hindus whom he considered as his most loyal and law-abiding subjects[33]. This open championing of the infidels was an unpardonable offence to the intolerant orthodoxy of Barāni and Ibn-Batuta. And no Muslim dared to accuse the Hindus of any offence in a light-hearted, offhand manner. Thus the sultan was centuries in advance of his slow-moving and narrow-visioned people.

The projects of the sultan have been all rescued from their alliance with insanity. His Chinese expedition has now been narrowed down to a campaign in the Himalayas,[34] which fulfiled its aim, though at an enormous cost, inevitable in all mountain warfare, so well illustrated in the Afghan and Nepalese wars of a far more mighty power. His "dreams" of a central capital and token currency were certainly not mere visionary schemes. The verdict of History must be that the sultan had not the co-operation of an enlightened bureaucracy to enforce his laws and guard against abuses. Desire to deceive and cheat the state is as rampant today as it was in the days of the sultan. An argus-eyed bureaucracy could have saved him from the obloquy of a dreamer and visionary—

Muhammad's championship of the Hindus as equals of the ruling class raised a storm of protests and rebellions all over the Empire. The reactionary forces found their leader and mouthpiece in Firoz Shah Tughlak.

Sultan Firoz surrendered[33] himself into the hands of the victorious Mullas and re-established their ascendency as the guardians of the State. The mild-natured, peace-loving sultan was forced to rescind the laws of his predecesor and forbid freedom of thought and worship to the Hindus.[36] In his autobiography, Firoz exults in his piety which executed Muslim Sufis and blew up to skies the newly built Hindu temples. Yet this sultan

33. Proc. Indian History Congress. Allahabad. 1939. p. 285.
34. Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughlak. Mahdi Hussain. pp. 193, 197-198.
35. A short History of Muslim Rule in India. Ishwari Prasad. Oxf. Hist. India. V. A. Smith. p. 250.
36. Do p. 250.

has been compared to Aśōka by uncritical enthusiasm.[37] This action of the sultan is defended on the score that Islam forbids infidel places of worship in a predominantly Muslim locality.[38] Devaraya II of Vijayanagar placed the Holy Quran on his throne and built mosques in front of his palace.[39]

Naturally generous, the sultan put a limit to the policy of intolerance and consecrated his time for the material and moral development of all his subjects. Firoz Shah Tuglak has rightly earned the title of the father of his people and a fore-runner of Shah Jehan.

The forces of reaction so well entrenched behind the throne could not be easily dislodged and Sikandar Lodi was the last champion of a losing cause.[40]

Away from the courts, the fakirs and sadhus were forging a bond of union between the two great peoples and even had the courage to indict the sultan for his reactionary policies. "Malik-ul-ulama assured the King that it would be improper for the sultan to destroy the ancient idol temples and that he ought not to forbid the accustomed rite of ablution in tank?"[41] Hindus and Muslims openly attended the lectures of a Brahmin, though forbidden in vain by a well-meaning but spineless Sultan Firoz Tuglak.[42]

This tendency at synthesis of these two cultures expressed itself in the foundation of Satyapir cult[43] a fore-runner of the Din-i-Illahi of Akbar, Kabir, Nanak. Dādu and a host of others prayed in unctuous language,

> "Thou art Ram and Rahim,
> Thy names are Keshav and Karim."[44]

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37. Pre Mughal Politics. Topa. p. 235.
38. Pre Mughal Politics. Topa. p. 246.
39. A Forgotten Empire. Sewell p. 72.
40. Oxf. Hist. Ind. V. A. Smith. pp. 253-4.
41. Hindus and Mussalmans of India by A. Chakravarti. pp. 108-109.
42. Ibid. pp. 89-90.
43. Āryan Rule in India. Havell, E. B. p. 338.
44. Hindus & Mussalmans of India. A. Chakravarti, p. 120.

In the field of music and architecture the practical visionaries created a glorious epoch that effaced all distinctions between the ruler and ruled and compelled the two races to sit at the feet of one another as master and disciple, forgetting their unhappy past.[45] On the top of these comes the greatest bond of unity, the *Lingua Franca* of India, Urdu or Hindi or Hindustani, a necessary instrument of national unity.

This tendency towards the identification of the joys and sorrows, mutual respect and toleration reached its climax in the culture-state of the Moghul Emperor of Delhi, whose wealth and grandeur made it the cynosure of the then known world.

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45. Some Aspects of Muslim Culture. Jaffar, S. M. pp. 204-6.

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By S. Śrīkaṇtha Śāstri, M.A.

III

FIGURINES and amulets. Witchcraft and sorcery seem to account for many of the terracotta figurines and amulets.[28] The seals especially the miniature ones and the copper tablets do not seem to be heraldic, historical or commercial. Some of the amulets have holes and bosses through which a particular kind of string was inserted and tied to the arm, wrist, neck or on the forehead. The small seals and copper tablets were perhaps inserted along with various herbs into envelopes and thus worn. The figurines are *kṛtyas* of the Atharva Vēda—concrete objects like dolls used in a great number of magical ceremonies. A few no doubt may have been worshiped in the houses, but a study of Atharvan charms shows that there are clear parallels. The small amulets found in the lowest strata of Harappa have no knobs or holes, no "unicorn" or deeply engraved legends. Therefore they are not sealings and the inscription is meant to be read direct from the original. The range of inscriptions is very limited: Vats points out that a particular combination occurs thirty-two times. Therefore the inscriptions are not personal names either. Thirty-three copies of the same cylindrical seal (No. 315) made in two parts and pressed

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* Continued from Vol. XXXII. No. I. Page 37.

28. Hrozny however prefers to take the seals not as amulets but as of individuals, "seals of so and so". He claims to have deciphered the seals in the light of hieroglyphic Hittite, and draws far fetched conclusions regarding the Indus population and chronology. The Indus population consisted of hieroglyphic Hittites, a non-Indo-European Subaraean or Hurrish, and Kushites (Cassites) and Elamites,—the dominant element being hieroglyphic Hittites who penetrated to India in the beginning of the 3rd millenium *B.C.* (*Le Flambeau*. January 1940. *I.H.Q.* Dec. 1940)

together, nine copies of Nos. 334-336 show that these amulets were meant for some fairly common disease. It is highly probable that the sorcerers (*Cātanas, Atharvans, Kimīdins, Yātudhānas*) had a reserve of these seals ready for their customers and uttering spells and performing ceremonies over them when there was need, disposed them off.

The miniature seals have the crocodile, fish, goat, "incense-burner", pipal leaf, hare, the cross, four-sided bars, dotted circles, eagle and snakes, tortoise, cross-hatched pattern, goat, bison, acacia, the svastika turned to the right as in India, anchor, trees and plants on them. The shapes are oblong, square, triangular, rectangular, cylindrical, small discs, lanceolade, heart-shaped, shield, leaf, writing tablet (?), fish, tortoise, hare, T-shaped, rhomboid. The crescent-shaped amulet is unique at Harappa. The plano-convex discs may have been used as bezels on the rings. The shield-shape is probably a representation of the double-axe. The leaf-shaped seal has a fish moulded or in relief. The crocodile is not the usual fish-eating ghariyal but the *magar*. The fish and tortoise shaped seals have inscriptions on both sides. Bull's heads made in śankha and pottery, with twisted horns, reclining tiger, jugate feline heads are also cult-objects or amulets.

At Tell Agrab and Khafaje, miniature models of the duck, bull, pig, kneeling human figure, bearded human head, reclining goat (perforated), different kinds of fish (with red beads set in bitumen for eyes), tortoises, rams, dogs (?), leopards, cut from glazed steatite, faience, mother-of-pearl, shell etc. show close resemblance to the Harappa miniatures, though the Mesopotamian have no legends on them. Frankfort says (*Ill. L. News* Sep. 26. 1936) that these amulets present a source of information as yet untapped. Some of these amulets were strung along with beads to form necklaces. Seated monkeys with a cord round the neck, flying wings, a double-fish, and frogs are also found. At Brak the amulets of the Jemdat Nasr and Early Dynastic periods are made of marble, alabaster, lapis lazuli and shell. Two alabaster idols with a neck and pair of circles representing eyes resemble the so-called writing tablet miniatures of Harappa. They also resemble the so-called "hut-symbols" from Tepe Gawra. Mallowan pointed out that the

amulets—the kneeling bull, fish, double fish, ram, kneeling man, are exact counter parts of Early Dynastic work in Sumer and Kish and Mari. At Brak and Chagar Bazar the shapes include lions, gazelles, bears, hedgehogs, ibex, pigs, hares, frogs, eagles, ducks, fish, sheep and cows. Mallowan took all these, along with the beads to be foundation deposits. The alabaster idols were very numerous and varied considerably in form but the majority had flat bodies, elongated necks, surmounted by large eyes, often inlaid with black, red or orange paint. Some had double or triple heads and a few had a smaller image of an idol engraved on the front of the body, suggesting a symbolic mother and child. The variety of their head-dresses suggests a hierarchy. Possibly they were meant to avert the evil eye, just as the beads are used in modern Syria and India.

These images, the kidney-shaped amulets, bull's head, the cruciform design, the impression of two feet with a snake between them, the hare amulet, the vulture, ram, fish, tortoise, duck, frog, jugate bull heads of green stone discovered at Brak in Syria and assigned to C. 3000 *B. C.* (*Ill. L. News* Oct. 15. 1938) are exactly paralleled in Harappa miniatures. In Crete (L. M. II) the beads —segmented, spirally grooved, tubular, amygdaloid, and globular, have the lotus and recumbent calf carved on them. The amulets are in the shape of monkeys, frogs, argonauts, bulls' heads etc. The double-axe and dolphin also occur on vases. The sacred horns, bull's head with boar's tusks, goat-headed demons with wings, winged imps, animal heads growing out of horns, bird-headed and winged women, bat and griffins, flying fish, and monkeys occur in M. M. III period.

In M. M. II, the seals are signets, three or four sided bead-seals, lentoids, round-carved with an ibex, four-sided prisms with winged-heads. The figures are adapted to the shape of the seals. In M. M. I, the flat bead seals with the broad-arrow, sigmas, four-leafed flower and other designs were introduced into Crete. Scarabs and Barbary ape figures were taken from Egyptian amulets. Hornets, toads and bulls of gold and faience had also amuletic value. Miniature goats, ibex, dogs, stoats, tortoises are also found. In E. M. III animals first appear. The "double-axe" is converted

to a goat by adding a goat's head at one end. The seals have the monkey, dove, boar's head, lion, ape, a two-headed bird (at Trapeza). The seals are conical or with pyramidal tops, or three-sided, cylindrical with engravings at both ends, flat or two-sided, "buttons", and signets. The patterns are spiral, labrynth, svastika, rosettes, lions, spiders, scorpions (headless as in Egypt), boats and fishes, the double sickle motive (two reversed lines). In E. M. II birds, jackals and svastika occur on the seals, and also Egyptian designs. In E. M. I. the seals made of steatite are conical or three-sided with a proto-Minotaur figure. In the neolithic period at Knossus steatopygus fiddle-shaped figurines are found and continue into E. M. I. where they were made in stone. Though there are some analogies with the Indus civilisation, the Cretan culture developed as a thalassocracy. In Crete, from the neolithic times onwards, the same dolico-cephalic race with long narrow faces and not above five feet two inches tall were responsible for the Minoan Civilisation. They came from Anatolia and Syria and were sea-farers. Therefore Tell Halaf, Brak and Chagar Bazaar influences are seen in the earliest Cretan figurines and pottery.

These parallels however bring us no nearer to the solution of the problem of the Indian amulets, for the ritual texts of Babylonia, Assyria and Hittites throw no light and the Cretan script has not been interpreted. Therefore while noting the prevalence of more or less similar cults, in view of the continuity of the Indian civilisation, we can take the Atharva Vēda and discuss some of the amulets and spells described there.

Magic, medicine, and psycho-analysis are all employed in the Atharvan charms. The main groups are medicinal (*takma nāśaṇa gaṇa*), black-magic and exorcism (*cātana*), mystic prayers (*ātma dēvatya*), confounding (*mōhana*), white magic for success in trade, discussion, agriculture, domestic happiness, long life, health and virility, against portents and calamities, propitiating Manyu, Yama, Rudra, etc. for concord and harmony, Vrātya, *māngaḷika* (funeral).

Medical amulets:—A reed charm in case of diabetes and fistula; for safe delivery by cæsarian operation, two accouching

goddesses *Sūśaṇi* and *Biṣkali* (*Puṣkali*) were invoked. To stop the flow of blood (menses?) a sand-bag was pressed. (सिकतधन् ; सिकतामयीबुन्) In heart diseases and jaundice Sūrya was invoked and the disease was asked to go to Śuka (parrots) Rōpaṇaka (*kūṣṭha śuka*—com.) and Hāridrava (*gōpītanaka*—yellow water wagtail).

For leprosy, haridrā and rajanī (*parpaṭī?*) were used. It was first made by an Asura woman.

For *takman* several amulets and medicines are prescribed; heated axe dipped in water, etc.

An ointment amulet (*anjana*) is employed against eye diseases, jaundice, consumption, takman (fevers), balāśa (phlegm) etc. It was obtained from Himavant, Traikakud, and Yamunā.

Lākṣā (lac) water was used to heal deep wounds. It is called silāçi and grew upon Plakṣa, Khadira, Aśvattha, Parṇa, Nyagrōdha and Dhama. Also called Arundhati.

With an amulet of a kind of rope, three goddesses and Mahiṣa were invoked for protection.

A *maṇi* (amulet) was bound on the navel against snake poison. The snakes mentioned are *kirāta* (Krait?), grass-hunter, brown, black, *timāta*, *Upōdaka*, *āligī*, *viligī*, broad-knobbed one, born of the black barbarian woman (*dāsyā asiknyah*), *Udakūla*, (*urugūlā*), *tābuva* and *tastuva*.

An amulet of three metals gold (*harita*), silver (*arjuna*) and *ayas* (copper) was bound for protection and long life.

The root of the gourd (*Urvārū*, *Karkaṭī*, *Circumis utilissimus*) is used against balāsa (phlegm or catarhh). Tālīsā (*Flacourtia cataphracta*) and an amulet of barley, mustard plant (*ābāyu?*) against eye diseases. It is also called *alasālā*, *śilānjāla*, *nīlagala sālā*. *Paraśu* leaves, burnt to cure *gaṇḍamālā* (carbuncle); the *Śami* for hair; a *darbha* amulet for Manyu (anger); the *arundhatī* or *sahadēvī* plant for cows; an *arka* (*Calotropis gigantea*) amulet and thread for virility. (शेपोऽर्कदेवत्यं); The Bower MS. (I-p. 5. v. 60 and p. 17), also prescribes the rind of the pomegranate and mustard oil for virility.

The amulet of Madhugha was worn and the plant was chewed for obtaining the love of a woman and success in dispute.

Gold beads (*yugma kṛṣnala*) were worn as amulets for long life and in Āditya mahāśānti.

Mud from ant-hills was used for flux, wounds, fever, diarrhœa, diabetes, etc. The asuras dug low for the remedy, the ants (*upajīka*) bring it up from the ocean. Perhaps skin diseases were supposed to be due to ants as among the Hopi American Indians, who drew the figure of a frog in sand to cure skin diseases.

The Jangiḍa plant (*vārāṇasyām prasiddhah*) with a hemp-string was tied on as an amulet against viṣkandha, (obstruction ?) jambha (lock-jaw), and visara.

A *dūrva* amulet is used in Bhārgavī mahāśānti. An amulet of barley, *tilapīnji*, earth from ant-hill etc. were used against inherited consumption, leprosy etc. The sickman was placed under an ox-harnessed plough with the head under the yoke and doused. Then he was placed in a śūnyaśālā (with round windows-*gavākṣa*), in an old hole (*jaratkhāta*) where grass (sātatṛṇa) grew and there doused and his mouth was rinsed.

An amulet of the splinters of ten trees and touched by ten friends was also used.

Kāmpīla chips bound to the patient placed at cross roads, were wetted with bunches of grass.

The horn of a bull-gazelle was used against the *Kṣetriya* disease "On the head of a swift running gazelle (*hariṇa*) is a remedy". So also Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra :—

अनुन्वाहरिणोमृगः पद्भिश्चतुर्भिरक्रमीत् ।
विषाणे विष्यैतंग्रन्थि यदस्य गुल्फितंहृदि ॥

The remedy was also connected with the constellations. "What shines yonder like a four-sided roof (*chhadi*) there with the kṣetriya shall disappear." Chhadi is a grass mat to cover the roof. Weber takes it to be a constellation and Whitney suggests the star group Arab Manzil (tent) in Aquarii, the twentieth nakṣatra

according to the Sūrya Siddhānta. "The two blessed stars, the Unfasteners (*Viśṛtau*—the two stars in the tail? of Scorpionis) unfasten the Kṣetriya."

A *khṛgala* (*tanutrāṇa*) and *Bandhura* (staff) are tied with reddish strings against karśapha, viṣapha and kābava (probably different kinds of Viṣkandha).

For virility an amulet of kapithaka (*Ferenia Elephantum*) is used. The gandharva gave this penis-erecting herb (*Śephō harshaṇīm*) to Varuṇa. It is called a stag, brother of Soma, the the first born of forest trees.

The plant *kandamūla*, invoking Takṣaka is used in exorcising arrow-poison. So also the Varaṇa tree (*Crataeva Roxburghii*) to ward off poison on Varanāvati is used. It could be purchased in return for coverlets (*pavasta*), garments (*dūrśa*) and goat-skins.

Pippalī is used for *vāta* (wind) and bruises; *palāśa* amulet for phlegm, wounds, consumption, etc; and amulet of madhugha kankaparva against the poison of snakes and scorpions; a lute string amulet against rājayakṣma, apachit; and jāyānya (flies?); an amulet of deodar for long life; a gilt and lacquered amulet of ten kinds of woods against all diseases; a golden amulet (ear-ring) in *tulā puruṣa* and *āgnēyī mahāśānti* to obtain long life; a triple amulet of gold, silver and copper in *prājāpatya mahāśānti*; *darbha* amulet in *aindrī* mahāśānti; *udumbara* amulet in *kaubērī mahaśanti; darbha* in *yami mahāśanti: jangiḍa* amulet in *Vāyavya* mahāśānti; *śatavara* amulet in *santati mahāśānti;* a threefold amulet in *tvāṣṭrī mahaśantī*, *anjana* in *Nairṛtī mahāśāntī;* a threefold *āstṛta* amulet in *mārudgaṇī mahāśāntī.* It is highly probable that the medicine men employed these herbs both internally as well as externally.

Witchcraft amulets and figurines:—The sorcerers of the Atharva Vēda are the Cātana, kimīdin, arāya, yātudhāna, piśāca, asurī, atrins, Kaṇvas, atharvans, sadānvas, etc. Their conception of demons is described in various spells of Śukra, Bhṛgvāngiras, Atharvan, and others. There were male and female demons whose names are given below; along with some benevolent deities.

Sūṣaṇa and Biṣkalā ... accouchment goddesses.

Aṣanī	... lightning goddess.
Vināyaka	... to remove unlucky marks and against cats.
Hrūḍu	.. god of the yellow one.
Sadānvas at the bottom of a house, cow-stall, wagon body, axle, etc.	... daughters of *Magundī* a pisācī.
Kimīdins-male and female	... Śērabhaka, (Śēvṛdhaka), Śērabha (Śēvṛdha), Yādava, Mrōka, Anumrōka, Sarpa, Anusarpa, Jūrṇī, Upabdhi, (Jūtī), Arjunī, Bharūji.
Kaṇva piśācas	... blood drinking wizards and embryo-eating (*tayā kaṇvasyām śirahchindāmi*)
Worms	... Kurūru, algandu, saluna, avaskava, vyadhvara, kusumbha (kasabha), yēvāṣa, kaṣkaṣa, śipi vitnukas, nadanim.
Apvā	... *pāpa dēvata.* Abhvā—a demon sent by Maruts.
Viṣkandhas	... Karśapha, Viśapha, kābava.
Śātaghna	... god destroying profits of trade.
Śuna and Sīra	... gods of ploughs.
Sambhṛtvan	... "collector" god.
Sarpas of the quarters	... East—Heti, South—Aviṣyu, West—Vairāja, North—Avasthavaṇa, Fixed—Nilimpa, Upward—Avasvant. East—black snake, South—cross-lined, West—pṛdāku, North—svajā, Fixed—kalmāṣa necked, Upward—svitra.
Frogs	... Tāduri (*tamdhurī*), khaṇvaka, khaimakhā.

Gandharvas and Apsaras	... Apsaras—Pilā, Naladī, aukṣa gandhī, pramandanī, guggulū (names of sweet smelling herbs) Viśvāvasu.
Nirṛti	... naked, golden-haired causing evil dreams.
Snakes	... kirāta, Timāta, (Tayimāta) āligī, viligī, Urugūlā, Tābuva, Tastuva.
Tauvilikā, brown and brown-eared.	causing eye diseases (*nirala ?*).
Araru	... son of Yama and Varuṇāni, causing bad dreams.
Triṇāman	... god of harmony and concord.
Kālakanjas	... Heavenly dogs.
Three Sarsvatis	... goddesses to remove poison.
Grāhī	... demon of seizure.
Jambha	... demon seizing the suckling child (lock jaw ?).
Anumati, Sinivalī, Kuhū, Rākā, Sarasvant, Aśvinī Gungū, Paurṇamāsī, Amāvāsya,	Stellar deities,
Sarkōta and Vṛschika	scorpions.
Pāpi Lakṣmī	... ill-luck, Jyēshṭhaghnī and Mūla.
Vikēśya and Ailabakāra	... Evil wailers.
Apachit, achit, mūra, Tamōvrdha, Ayātu.	diseases.
Khargala, Ulūkī, Ulūka, Śuśulūka, Śvayātu, Kōkayātu, Suparṇa, Kṣvinka.	demons in the form of birds.
Aḷimsa, Vatsapa, palāla, anupalāla, śarku (śulku), Kōka, malimlucha, palījaka, āśreṣa, wrap-garmented, bear-necked, winking one, snouted (tuṇḍika) asura, flesh-eating,	causing abortion and hurting pregnant woman.

kishkin-dogs, (svakishkin), making donkey noises, dancing round the house, Kusūla, Kukshila (paunchy) kakubha, karuma, srima (svarasā, sumā or kharumā and srumā), kukundhas, kukurabhas, skins-wearing (kṛitti), pelt wearing (dūrsa), dancing like eunuchs, making noises in the forests, niggards, buck-clothed (*avichanna vasana*) ill-smelling, red-mouthed, Makakas, (Mṛṣakas), thrusters of woman's hips, going before women bearing horns (plural), residing in the oven (āpākēṣṭhas), laughing wildly, making light in the tuft, with front feet behind, heels and faces in front, born out of the threshing floor and dung-smoke Uruṇḍa (Aruṇḍa), Maṭmaṭa, pot-testicled, ayāsus, wild rolling eyes, bristling, hermit-haired, copper-coloured, snouted (tunḍēla), Sāluḍa (Sālūḍha), rim-nosed, Tangalva, chhāyaka, naked, brown, two-mouthed, four-eyed, five-footed, fingerless, twiners, eaters of raw flesh, and of

human flesh and embryos, hairy, egg eaters, creeping away from the sunlight, kimīdins.	
Serpents, Arbudi and Nyarbudi, Arbudi striding on khaḍūra.	Snake goddesses, daughters of Arbuda.
Demons—tear-faced, crop-eared, with disheveled hair, dog accompanied Apsaras, wearing the mutilated, concealed specters, Itarajanas, tusked, black-toothed, pot-testicled, blood-faced, hornless (tūpara), goat-smelling.	kinds of evil spirits.
Evil creatures—Buzzards, *jaskamadas*, vultures, falcons, crows, *śakuni*, jackals (*rūpaka*), *Riśa*.	Ill-omened animals and birds.
Triṣandhi with a red ensign to destroy specters with ensigns, ayas-mouthed, needle-mouthed, Vikankaṭī (thorn-tree) mouthed flesh eaters.	a god (*sēna mōhaka*) to confound hostile armies.
Demons—*kumbhīka*, *dūshīka*, *pīyaka*.	Evil spirits.
Evil-nosed jackal and puṇyaga (eunuch)	Evil sneezing.

The *kṛtyas* (figurines for black magic) were made in human forms. For sorcery against enemies and in mahāśānti Āngirasī an aśvattha amulet is used. An effigy was made and pierced, put in a boat on the water, its mooring was severed and pushed forward with an aśvattha branch to float away (III—6-7).

What witchcraft they have made in a raw vessel, in the blue-red one, in raw flesh, with that do thou smite the witchcraft makers. (IV—17-4.)

The raw flesh of a cock and a figurine were placed in a raw vessel tied with blue and red threads and the kṛtya was buried with apāmārga plant to counteract sorcery.

" As a dog, ape or hairy boy the Gandharva seizes women, . . we expel (*cātayāmahē*) with the ajasṛṇgī plant." (IV—37).

Hymn (V—31) of Ṛṣi Śukra gives some more details. The witchcraft made in raw vessels, mixed grains, raw flesh, in a cock, *kurīra* wearing (horned ?) goat or ewe, in one hoofed, having teeth in both jaws, in a donkey, in the rootless (plant ?) or buried (valaga), in a nārāci, in a field, in a fire, in houses, in sabtra, gambling board, dice, arrow, army, war drum; put down in a well, or dug at the cemetry, in a *sadman*, in a human bone, samkasuka fire (funeral fire), brought by not the road—is destroyed.

To counter opponents' sorcery a *pēshṭa* (comm. pishṭamayam, piṇḍam pāṇḍum) of white earth (?) is thrown to a dog. "I cast forth for death as a bone (?) for a dog ". (VI—37-3.).

The spell of Pratyāngiras (X—1.) mentions kṛtyā (female figurines) " having head, nose, ears put together by the wizard; Śūdra made, king made, woman or Brahman made; buried in *barhi*, cemetry, valaga, in a field or in gārhapatyāgni: *anointed, smeared, well adorned*, bearing all difficulty (?), go away to your maker, as one pierced, slain with an arrow, fitting it (?) shooting in front; wherever you are set down, from there we make thee stand up. There are knives of good metal in our houses, we cutting joints; we cut thy neck bones (*grīva*) and two feet. If you came to us biped or quadruped (put together by the wizard) go away as octoped."

That the Indus figurines were similarly put together, ornamented and smeared (with butter, oil or ghī) is clear from Mackay's description of them. Whereas he takes them as house deities accidentally mutilated and therefore thrown away, it is probable that they were deliberately pierced and mutilated in sympathetic magic.

The most striking are the figurines with prominent bellies. Some are merely naked and others hold children. The former class may perhaps represent persons suffering from swollen stomachs. Maruts are invoked with Atharva VI-22. (cp. *Ṛg.* I-164-47; *Tai. Sam* III—1—144) to cure swollen bellies.

Similar images are also found in the neolithic sites of Moravia and in Chagar Bazaar, Mallowan calls a male figurine the "Old Man of Germayir," dated *C.* 2500 *B.C.* It represents a man with grotesque features and he was perhaps intended like the pregnant mother-goddess figurines to secure fertility—whether crops, cattle or children, it is not clear. It resembles a clay figure found at Ashur and another found by Petrie at Abydos in Egypt. In the third millenium *B. C.* such figures had a wide distribution. (*Ill. L. News* March 27, 1937.)

The female counter parts of this male figure were two models of the mother-goddess discovered in the second city of Chagar Bazaar. These figurines have pinched noses, large round bellies, hands at the stomach, breasts prominent and legs almost indistinct. The Indus figurines (Mackay, pl. LXXV No. 7, LXXVIII No. 12; Vats. Seal No. 305) of pregnant females with tight necklaces, mother suckling baby, holding a baby with one arm and the other raised to cover her mouth (not a sign of youth as in Egypt) are clearly meant for safe pregnancy. They might have been used in the charms against embryo—spoiling demons mentioned above.

Another pregnancy charm was a bracelet or bangle.[29] Atharva VI—81 recommends the binding on of a bangle. (*iti mantrōktam badhnāti*)

> O hand clasp (*parihasta*), hold apart the womb to place the embryo. O thou sign (*maryāda*) put in a son; thou comer (*āgama*), make him come.

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29. Regarding the significance of *alankāra*, see J. Gonda—*Volume of Eastern* and *Indian studies* presented to F. W. Thomas p. 97. In the *Atharva* X-1, female figurines possibly ornamented with bracelets, necklaces, etc. are mentioned. An image of Night made of flour (piṣṭā rātri) in *Atharva Parisishṭa* IV-3-5, etc. is mentioned as having a *pratisara* bound on it. (*arcitām* (*rātrim*) *gandhamālyēna sthāpay ēt...pratisaram ābadhya...chhatram hiranmayam dadyāt*, tc.)

The hand clasp worn by Aditi desiring a son, may Tvashṭr bind it on her saying that "She may give birth to a son."

Even in modern India, a pregnant woman in the seventh or fifth month is provided with new bangles after some ceremonies. Vats (pl. LXXVI) shows a woman with a peculiar head-dress wearing a bracelet.

Another figure on a cot, probably a pregnant woman (?) on a wooden board, from Harappa resembles two model beds with females reclining at Mohenjo Daro. Frankfort refers to a seal of Jemdat Nasr period where a pig-tailed female is shown on a bed or bench which has hoofed feet. These females may be pregnant or sick women brought to the temple for cure or hetaera of the temples. In the Atharva Vēda (IV—4. also *Ṛg.* VII-55-7) there is a charm to put a woman and her household to sleep in order to approach her without opposition.

The thousand (golden) horned bull coming up from the ocean—with him we put people to sleep.

Let all the women and the house dogs go to sleep.

The women lying on a bench, on a couch, in a litter and of pure odour, all we make to sleep.

On the seals there are the figures of men and women taken as gods and goddesses, with spikes of leaves on their heads. So also some of the figurines, have sprigs of flowers or leaves on their heads. No doubt some of them are vegetation deities but another explanation is also probable. To secure the love of a man or woman the Atharva prescribes some charms. With an amulet of simsapa (*Dalbergia sisu*) sacred to Bhaga, a spike of Sauvarcala *śankha pushpika* is bound on the head of a woman desiring the love of a man and she enters the village (Ath. VI—129). Again (VII—39) we have

I dig this remedy Sauvarcala. Correspondent (*pratīcī*) to Sōma, to the Sun, to all the gods. If thou art either beyond people, or if beyond the streams, away this herb, having as it were bound thee, conduct thee hither to me.

Sauvarcala is not sochal salt but a root or flower *śankha pushpī* according to the commentators Kausika, Dārila and Kēśava. Sauvarcala is also hemp. Halevy thinks that the plant was fastened to man before departure, by the wife to retain his love and bring him safely back. He refers to the Burmese custom of tying hempen cords by the wife and husband on each other before separation. Kauśika says that with this charm the plant is fastened on the woman's head and then she enters the village. Kēśava however says that it is tied on the man's head (*puruṣa śirasi badhva*). Probably it was meant both for males and females who wanted to secure the love of the other sex.

The male naked figurines next claim our attention. At Mohenjo Daro (Mackay, Pl. LXXII No. 8) there is a male, entirely nude showing the genital organs, and with the hair in a broad flat mass. The head is upturned and with oval eyes. Over the red wash there are black deposits showing that the figure was anointed with butter on ceremonial occasions. Another (Pl. LXXIII, No. 8) is in a dancing posture with bowed legs, and genital organs well defined, with no marks of circumcision.[30] That circumcision existed in some parts of South India in the beginning of the Christian era is attested to by Vātsyāyana.

दाक्षिणात्यानां लिङ्गस्य कर्णयोरिवव्यधनं बालस्य ह्स्वन्ति
कर्मसहिष्णूनि विकल्पयोजनासुच स्वेच्छावपातोनि दाक्षिणात्यानाम् ॥

Evidently this was not due to Semetic influence.[31] In any case the Indus people do not seem to have been much influenced by South India or Babylonia.

30. The custom of urinating in a standing posture is condemned by the orthodox. Atharva (VII, 107) has a spell to avert evil consequences. "Let not the lords (*īśvarāh*) harm me."

31. Āṇi in Vēdic means testicles. The Anu tribe in Egypt was considered Semetic by Hall whose destruction by "Horus" was annually celebrated. Neville identifies them with Proto-dynastic people of Upper Egypt. Anu or Antiu means "Pillar folk." The name An or On is perhaps from the pillar city of On on the Delta. The Anu tribe mentioned in the Vēdas is considered by Rajawade to be first hostile to Indra (*Ṛg.* 8-VIII-2). See also note on Vrātyas.

Were these naked men priests? If the images were anointed they may represent deities. Śiva of course is dancing and naked (*digambara*), so is Kāla-Bhairava. But other characteristics of these gods are not found. At Khafaje, Delougaz found a hoard of statues of the latter part of the second Early Dynastic period, showing a great variety in style. One figure of white translucent stone is naked with hands clasped on the abdomen, bearded and with curly head-dress. (*Illus. L. News* Dec. 10, 1938). Speiser (*Scientific American*, April 1938) takes such a statue at Tepe Gawra as anticipating the classical Hercules, but with a beard. At Mohenjo Daro a figure with a goat-beard curling inwards is taken by Mackay to represent a god and not a priest. Speiser says "the presence or absence of beards was not merely a matter of fashion. It was once held that the bearded figures represented the Semites, the beardless ones the Sumerians. But when a number of ancient gentlemen with unimpeachable Sumerian antecedents began to sport beards, it became clear that the reason for the custom was religious. Priests and kings who combined secular and religious authority wore beards as the prerogative of their office . . . One statuette is peculiar as of the original beard only the sidelocks have remained. The rest was cut off as is shown clearly by the none too delicate chisel marks. Had the man lost his priestly office after sitting for the sculptor, so that the beard had to go? This seems improbable because priestly offices were usually hereditary. . . Or the wife may have objected to the apparition strenuously so that the poor wretch had to resort to a compromise for the sake of peace." The beardless Sumerian statues may represent high officials. At Khafaje, Preusser discovered three statues of naked bearded priests with hands clasped in front in adoration. On the head is a four horned branch perhaps to support some ritual vessel. Heras wildly identifies the three images with Aṇ, Enlil and Ama and does not take them to be priests. But this is impossible from the attitude of adoration. Nudity of course had a sacred significance in many religions. The worshipper had to approach his maker in naked innocence like a child. (Even now the dead are burned in the nude). The head is also shaved before *dīkṣā*. But in India we also find several types

of monks—with braided hair, clean-shaven, with only a tuft on the head, bearded, with uprooted hair, etc. (jaṭila, muṇḍi, lunchhita kēśa, ēka danḍins, tridaṇḍins etc.)[32] In the witchcraft ceremonies (*abhicāra*) nudity is prescribed. In historical times we know from *Harīvamsa* and *Viṣṇu purāṇa* that various hair dressing fashions were prevalent.

अर्धं शकानां शिरसो मुण्डयित्वा विसर्जयेत् ।
कांभोजानां शिरस्सर्वं यवनानां तथैवच ।
पारदामुक्तकेशाश्च पह्लवाश्मश्रुधारिण: ॥

In the Vēdic period we have reference to beards and long hair (*hiraṇya śmaśru, hiraṇya kēśa*) of the gods.

In the shaving ceremony before a sacrifice there is reference to the razor and to the barber of gods.

ओषधेत्रायस्वैनं स्वधितेमैनँ हिंसी: ॥
देवश्रूरेता निप्रवपेस्वस्ति ॥

(*Tai. Sam.* II-1)

In the Atharva Vēda (VIII-2-17) in the tonsure ceremony, the shaving of the face and head is alluded to.

With that dangerous very sharp razor, the hair-dresser shears the hair and beard, adorning the face—steal not our life-time.

In VI-68, shaving is described as follows:

Let Savitṛ bring the razor, Vāyu the hot water; may Ādityas, Rudras and Vasus together wet him. Shave the head of Soma the king.

Aditi, shave the beard (*śmaśru.* Paippalāda has *kēśān. Aditē Kēśan vapa*), wetted by the Waters. May Prajāpati nurse (*chikits*) it.

Savitṛ shaved Sōma and Varuṇa. Ye Brāhmaṇas, shave this man.

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32. The yatis thrown to the Sālāvṛkas by Indra are compared with the Shamans. (Schroeder V.O.J. 33).

Compare *Tai. Br.* II-7-17, and *Śankhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (I-28).

येनावपत् सविताश्मश्रुंअग्रेक्षुरेणयज्ञो वरुणस्य विद्वान् ।
येनधाता बृहस्पतिरिन्द्रस्य चावपच्छिरः तेनब्राह्मणोवपतेऽद
मद्याऽयुष्मान दीर्घायुरयमस्तुवीरः ॥

The *Tai. Br.* I-5-6-2 says that the Asuras began the shaving from the head downwards to the arm-pits and therefore went down, while the gods reversed the process and therefore went to the higher world. *Tai. Sam.* (II-1-1) also says that the beard is the characteristic of the man. On the Indus figurines of the males we can observe a trimmed beard, hair on the head bound by a fillet and the upper lip shaved; a natural in-curling beard different from the stiff artificial beards of Egypt and also a small tuft with the head shaved.

Some of the composite animals on the seals may illustrate the descriptions given in the Vēdic literature.

The bull with the elephant's trunk is also found on a Jemdat Nasr seal.[33] Frankfort thinks that the difference in treatment may well be the result of a gap in time, the Indian seals dating from the end of Early Dynastic or Sargonid period. But this position is untenable on the evidence of ceramics as I have shown elsewhere. Mṛgāhastin and Vṛṣahastin occur frequently in the Vēdas and they are usually, perhaps erroneously taken to mean the beast with a hand and the powerful elephant. The term mṛgāhastin is similar to parvatagiri (*Ath.* IV 6-7), and therefore is no indication of unfamiliarity. Atharva (IX-4-3) refers as already indicated to a Bull which bears a trunk (*Kabandha* ?) of Vasu (good).

Nējamēṣa (Naijamēṣa) probably in the form of a goat is worshipped for obtaining offspring. In the later Buddhist and Jaina tradition this goddess is mentioned in the transfer of the embryo. (*Bṛhaddēvata* X-185. *JRAS.* 1895.)

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33. The bull and the snake were combined in Phrygian mysteries. (Ramsay. *Asianic Elements in Greek civilisation.*)

The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (IV-28 ff) mentions the Araṇyaśva (taken to mean a Vṛka) and a blood-faced, dog-footed animal-demon.

असृङ्मुखोरुधिरेणाव्यक्तः यमस्यदूतः श्वपदाद्विधावसि ।
गृध्रः सुपर्णः कुणुपं निषेवसे यमस्यदूतः प्रहितोभवस्य चोभयोः ॥

The Sālā Vṛka is mentioned in connection with Indra who slew the Yatis and threw them to these animals. When the yatis were being eaten their heads fell away and became the date fruit (kharjūra), their sap the karīra.

यतीनामद्यमानानां शोर्षाणि परापतत् । ते खर्जूरा अभवन् ।
तेषां रसः ऊर्ध्वापतत् तानि करीराणि ॥ (*Tai. Sam.* II-4-9)

The sons of the she-wolf Sālā Vṛkī cast Trita into a bricked well *kūpēṣṭakābhih* (*Ṛg.* I-105, *Bṛhaddēvata* III-132). The *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* (IV-30) gives this spell.

यदेतद्वृकसोभूत्वा वाग्देव्यभिरायसि ।
द्विषन्तं मेऽभिरायतं मृत्योमृत्यवेनय । स अर्त्याऽर्तिमार्छतु ॥

Indra in the form of a sālāvṛkī ran round the earth three times.

Another animal was the *Bhayēḍaka*, a form of *mēṣa*. (VI-2-5-7. *Tai Sam*).

यदीषितो यदिवा स्वकामी भयेडको वदति वाचमेताम् ।
तामिन्द्राग्नी ब्रह्मणा संविदानौ शिवामस्मभ्यं कृणुतं गृहेषु ॥

The goats or deer (pṛṣnī) combined on a seal with the Aśvattha leaves may be referred to the 6 or 7 Maruts whose names are given thus.

ध्वनिश्च ध्वान्तश्च ध्वनश्च ध्वनयँश्च । निलिम्पश्च विलिम्पश्च
विक्षिपः ॥ उग्रश्च धुनिश्च ध्वान्तश्च ध्वनश्च ध्वनयंश्च ।
सहसहस्वाँश्च सहमानश्च सहस्वांश्च सहीयांश्च । एत्यप्रेत्यविक्षिपः ॥
खट् फट् जहि । छिन्धी भिन्धी हन्धी कट् ।

(*Tai. Ār.* IV-24-27.)

Frankfort says that the monstrosity is due to design and that there is no point in searching mythological literature for the composite creatures. This is merely a counsel of despair.

(*To be concluded*)

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THE LITERARY GENIUS OF BĀDARĀYAṆA

By Rao Sahib N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu

I

Bādarāyaṇa or Vēda-Vyāsa, otherwise known as Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana, is one of our revered Gurus in our Guru-Pārampara, *viz.* Nārāyaṇa, Brahma, Vasiśta, Śakti, Parāśara, Vyāsa, Śuka, Gaudapāda, Govinda-Bagavatpāda, and Śankaracārya. Nārāyaṇa is the Lord of the Universe. Brahma, the first-born, is the Creator of the Universe, to whom Nārāyaṇa taught the Vēda. Vasiśta, the son of Brahma, by the latter's Will-Power, is the supreme spiritual adviser, who was closely associated with the solar race of the kings of Bharata-Varśa. Śakti, the son of Vasiśta, was the father of the sage Parāśara, who, by Satyavati, the daughter of Uparicara Vasu, gave birth to the Sage of Badari, Bādarāyaṇa, called Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana, owing to his dark complexion and his being born on an island in Yamuna, by the spiritual Grace of Parāśara. His son Śuka was a Jivanmukta from his birth and receiving initiation from Bādarāyaṇa, Janaka and Nārada rose to the highest seat of Paramātma with the force of his Yōga. Gaudapāda, Govinda-Bhagavatpāda the guru of Sri Śankarācārya, and Sri Śankarācārya are our Brahma-Vidya gurus in the age of Kali, for leading us to Parama-Pada through the two Vēdic Margas of Karma and Gñāna. Karma includes Bhakti and Upāsana.

It is indeed interesting to see the great literary service done by Bādarāyaṇa to us in his supreme grace and with his supreme Yōga. He is famous in our Literature as the sage that classified our Vēdas, summarised the teaching of the Vēda in the Brahma Sutras and wrote for the edification of the learned and the unlearned, the Mahābhārata, called the fifth Vēda and the eighteen Purāṇas. It is a fashion with our modern critics to say that there was no Vyāsa, that there were several Vyāsas, Vyāsa being only a title, that the Mahābhārata must have been the writing of more than

one writer, that all the Purāṇas could not have been written by one man and so on. We might dismiss these theories as fantastic, as we know that one author in our own age has shown himself capable of writing several works and different kinds of works in different styles too. The History of English literature alone is sufficient to silence these critics. However, my purpose is not to deal with such critics or answer them, for they do not seek answers to their criticisms. Their pride is that they have made research in an age of research. We search for truth and we do not research, for we lose nothing, for us to search again. Our literature shows us the way to search within ourselves and find Brahman through all this enormous Universe. We see Brahman and the Universe in our heart, as the Cāndogya Śruti says, if we seek within with Yoga and Upāsana for Brahman, as Atma is in our own Hearts.

In dealing with Vēda-Vyāsa, we speak of Bādarāyaṇa, the son of Parāśara, the great sage of this Kalpa of Sveta-Varaha Avatara of Nārāyaṇa. Our literature says that, in each Kalpa, creation follows the same routine as in each previous Kalpa, and so there is bound to be a Vyāsa or codifier for each Kalpa. Our Vyāsa, Bādarāyaṇa belongs entirely to our own Kalpa and so we have no doubt about his identity or his work in the field of our Literature.

II

Firstly, we have Bādarāyaṇa as the classifier of the Vēdas, hence called Vēda-Vyāsa. In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, third amsa, adhyayas 3 to 6, the sage Parāśara tells Maitreya the literary story of Vēda-Vyāsa in sufficient detail. The literary work of Vēda-Vyāsa falls under four divisions.

1. Vēdic Classification.
2. Brahma Sutras.
3. The Mahābhārata.
4. The Purāṇas.

Bādarāyaṇa has classified the material of the endless Vēdic literature in a way so as to make the material useful for the performance of yagna and for the growth of Gñāna from Karma, Nitya, Naimittika and Kāmya. He taught the four Vēdic

recensions thus made by him to his four disciples. To Paila he taught the Ṛg Vēda, to Vaiśampāyana he taught the Yajur Vēda, to Jaimini he taught the Sāma Vēda and to Sumantu he taught the Atharva Vēda. To his own son Śuka he taught all the Vēdas. The Atharva Vēda deals with four kinds of Vēdic Karma, Śāntika, Pāuśika (including Bhaiśajya), Adbhuta and Ābhicāra. The Yajur Vēda deals with Nitya, Naimittika and Kāmya Karmas. The Ṛg Vēda contains the hymns for the invocation of the deities who have to be propitiated at the various karmas. The Sāma Vēda contains select Ṛks set to music in seven tunes, used for singing the glory of the Devas, while they are at the Vedi receiving their sacrificial shares. When the deities are thus propitiated, they bless the sacrificer and his associates, the Ṛtviks, with long life and prosperity in the world and bliss beyond this life of a fixed season, in the great year of time known as eternity. The Atharva Vēda deals with several rituals intended to make life free from seen and unseen obstructions and afflictions, relating to the body, the mind and the soul. These rituals are classified and instructions for their performance are given in the sutras of Kauśika. So each Vēda has its own sutras for the rituals. To appreciate the genius of Vēda-Vyāsa, I would just give as a sample an analysis of the subject-matter of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda, as I have been able to make it during my study.

The Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda falls under four great divisions according to the Ṛṣis presiding over the rituals. The four Kāṇḍa-ṛṣis of this Vēda are Prajāpati, Agni, Sōma and Viśve-Devas. The following is a summary of the subject-matter :—

1. Prajāpati Kāṇda

Topic	*Mantra*	*Brāhmaṇa*
Ādhāna	... T.S. I. i. 1-13	T.B. III. ii. 1-10
		iii. 1-11
		T.S. II. v. 1-6, 11 (3-9)
	T.B. III. v. 5-7	T.S. II. vi. 1-6
Yājamāna	... T.S. I. v. 10	T.S. I. vi. 7-11
	vi. 1-6	vii. 1-6
Hautra	... T.B. III. v. 1-4	T.S. I. VII. 2.
	8-13	II. v. 7-11
		vi. 7-10

Topic	*Mantra*	*Brāhmaṇa*
Hotārah ...	T.A. III. 1-7, 11	T.B. II. ii, iii
Pinda-Pitr-Yagna		T.B. I. iii. 10
Pitr-Medha ...	T.A. VI	
Brahma-Citi ...	T.A. III. 1-11	
Brahma-Medha	T.A. III. 15-21	
Miscellaneous ...	T.A. III. 8, 9, 10, 12, 13.	T.B. II. ii. 5
2. Sōma Kānda		
Ādhvara ...	T.S. I. ii. 1-13 I. iii. 1-13 I. iv. 1-31 37-45	T.S. VI. i. 1-11 ii. 1-11 iii. 1-11 iv. 1-11 v. 1-11 vi. 1-10 vii. 1-3
	T.B. I. i. 1 I. iv. 8	
		T.B. I. iv. 1 v. 4, 9-12
Vājapeya ...	T.S. I. vii. 7-12	T.B. I. iii. 2-9
Sava-Yagnas ...	T.B. II. vii. 7, 8, 12, 13 15-17	T.B. II. vii. 1-6, 9-11, 14, 18
Pravargya ...	T.A. IV. 1-42	T.A. V. 1-12
3. Agni Kānda		
Ādhāna ...	T. B. I. i. 7. ii. 1.	T. B. I. i. 2-10.
Special Rituals...	T. S. I. iv. 32-34.	
Punarādheya and Agnihotra ...	T. S. I. v. 3, 5, 6, 10	T. S. I. v. 1, 2. T. B. I. iii. 1. T.S.I. v. 4, 7-9. T. B. I. iv. 3, 4. II. i. 1-11. T. S. V. i. 1-10.

Topic	*Mantra*	*Brāhmaṇa*
Agni-Cayana ...	T. S. IV. i. 1-10.	T. S. V. i. 1-10
	ii. 1-10.	ii. 1-10
	iii. 1-12.	iii. 1-11
	iv. 1-11.	iv. i-11
	v. 1-11.	v. 1-10
	vi. 1-5	vi. 2-10.
	vii. 1-14.	vii. 1-6,8-10.
	V. v. 5-10.	
	vi. 1, 4.	
	vii. 2-4, 6-9	
	T. B. I. v. 7, 8.	

4. Viśvedeva Kānda

Topic	*Samhita*	*Brāhmaṇa*	*Āraṇyaka*
Yājya ...	T. S. I. 1. 14,		III. 14-21
	ii. 14		
	iii. 14		
	iv. 46		
	v. 11		
	vi. 12		
	vii. 13		
	viii. 22		
	II. i. 11		
	ii. 12		
	iii. 14		
	iv. 14		
	v. 12		
	vi. 11-12		
	III. i. 11		
	ii. 11		
	iii. 11		
	iv. 11		
	v. 11		
	IV. i. 11		
	ii. 11		
	iii. 13		
	T. B. II. viii		
Upānuvākya ...	T. S. III. i. 1-10		
	ii. 1-10		
	iii. 1-10		
	iv. 1-10		
	v. 1-10		

Topic	*Samhita*	*Brāhmaṇa*	*Āraṇyaka*
Kāmyah :	... T. S. II. i. 1-10.	T. B. II. viii.	
Paśu	ii. 1-11		
Iṣṭi	iii. 1-13		
	iv. 1-13		
Rājasūya ...	T. S. I. viii. 1-21.	T. B. I. iv. 2, 9, 10.	
		v. 5, 6.	
		vi, vii, viii.	
		II. vi.	
Sattrāyana ...	T.S.VII. i. 4-10	T.B. I. ii. 2-6	
	ii. 1-10	iv. 5-7	
	iii. 1-10		
	iv. 1-11		
	v. 1-10		
Aśvamedha ...	T.S. I. iv. 35-36.	T.B. III. viii, ix	
	IV. iv. 12		
	vi. 6-9		
	vii. 15		
	V. i. 11		
	ii. 11-12		
	iii. 12		
	iv. 12		
	v. 11-24		
	vi. 11-23		
	vii. 11-26		
	VII. i. 11-20		
	ii. 11-20		
	iii. 11-20		
	iv. 12-22		
	v. 11-25		
Nakṣàtra Iṣṭi ...	T.S. IV. iv. 10-11	T.B. I. v. 1-3	
		III. i. 1-3	
		4-6	
Puruṣa Medha		T.B. III. iv.	T.A. III. 13
Pāśuka Hautra		T.B. III. vi.	
Acchidra-Prāyas-citta		T.B. III. vii.	
Divāsyena-Iṣṭi ...		T.B. III. xii. 1-2	
Apāgheṣti ...		T.B. III. xii. 3-4	

Topic	*Samhita*	*Brāhmaṇa*	*Āraṇyaka*
5. Other Ṛṣis			
1. Havyavāt:			
Sāvitra-Citi ...		T.B. III. x. 1-8	
Nāciketa-Citi		xi. 1-6	
Chāturhotra-Citi		xii. 5	T.A. III. 1-12
Vaiśvasrja-Citi		xii. 6-9	
2. Arunah:			
Aruna-Citi *		T.A. I. 1-32	
3. Svāyambhuh:			
Svādhyāya		T.A. II. 1-20	
4. Upaniṣads:		T.A. VII-X	
(*a*) Sagmhita-Devata		VII	
(*b*) Vāruni Devata		VIII, IX	
(*c*) Yāgniki-Devata		X	

The above analysis shows at a glance the arrangement of the Yajur Vēda for ritualistic purposes by the sage Vēda-Vyāsa. One who has to perform the rituals or even study the text of the Vēda intelligently derives great benefit by this classification of the subject-matter in the best manner possible.

III

After thus classifying the Vēdas, the sage necessarily had to take out the rationale of the Vēdic teaching from both the points of view, *i.e.* of Karma and Gñāna and formulate the Vēdic Theory of Brahman as the goal of existence and show the sure means of reaching the goal through the two-fold path of Karma and Gñāna. Both lead to the same goal by what appears to be two paths, which are really one. For this purpose the sage Bādarāyaṇa formulated the Brahma Sutras in four chapters.

In the First Chapter, the general theme is that *Brahman is in All the Jagat, Manifested Universe.* Brahman is indeed the essential form of all the objects of existence.

* See—" *The Hymn of Aruna* " by the author.

In the Second Chapter, the theme is that *Brahman is the Creative Force in the Jagat.* All the theories of creation according to the different schools of thought are discussed and refuted. The theories are of the Sānkhya, the Vaiśeṣika, the Naiyāyika, the Bauddha (Kṣanika), the Sūnya-vāda, the Kṣapanika, the Jaina and the Pāncarātra schools.

Having established the thesis that *Brahman is All* and *is the Cause of All*, the sage proceeds to expound the *Oneness of Brahman and Jīva*, Jīva representing the finite form of the Infinite Brahman. The evolution of the elements (Bhutas) and of the senses (Indriyas) is then dealt with.

In the Third Chapter, the value of Action (Karma) is discussed. Virtuous Karma (Punya) and Vicious Karma (Pāpa) both give rebirth, for the running out of the effects of both kinds of Karma.

Then the value of Saguṇa and Nirguṇa Upāsana is taken up, the former being a preparation for the latter, the former still binding the Upāsaka to life, the latter raising Jīva to the final stage of Sāyujya with Brahman, directly or through grades of lokas or regions of higher lives.

In the Fourth Chapter, stress is laid on Nirguṇa Upāsana as freeing the Jīva from births caused by Karma and leading Jīva to that union with Brahman from which there is no return.

The teaching of the Brahma Sutras is summarised by Śri Kṛṣṇa in the Bhagavad Gita Ch. 12, 13 and 14. Ch. 12 summarises Ch. 3 and 4 while Ch. 13 and 14 summarise Ch. 1 and 2 of the Brahma Sutras in a manner intelligible to lay minds. This summary is in fact implied in the statement in Gita Ch. 13, Verse 5, that the whole matter dealt with here (in the Gita) is fully discussed by Vyāsa in the Brahma Sutras with an exhaustive discussion of the various theories in their proper places. It is interesting to see how, in the Brahma Sutras, Bādarāyaṇa considers the theories of other Vedantins.

	Bādarāyaṇa	*Jaimini*	*Āśmarathya*
1. Vaisvānara ...	Paramātma I. ii. 24-27	Agni I. ii. 28	
2. Brahman ...	Nirguṇa I. ii. 30	Person for Dhyāna I. ii. 31	Prādesamātra for Ūpāsana I. ii. 29
3. Adikāra for Brahma Vidya	Devas too Adhikāris I. iii. 26, 27, 33	Adhikāris, not being Adhikāris for Madhu-Vidya I. iii. 31-32	
4. Brahman and Jīva	(i) Ākāśa is Brahman I. i. 22. (ii) One- III. iv. 8	Ākāśa-Paramātma. Jīvātma-earthly I. iv. 18	Kārya-Kāraṇa I. iv. 20
5. Karma	Sukṛta-Duṣkṛta III. i. 11		
6. Karmaphala	Īśvara gives phala (Mimāmsakas-Karma gives phala) III. ii. 41	Dharma gives phala III. ii. 40	
7. Gñāna for Mukti	Brahma-Gñāna gives Mokṣa (not so, Mimāmsakas) III. iv. 1	Artha-Vāda III. iv. 2-7	
8. Sannyāsa ...	Sāmya Śruti III. iv. 19	Śruti rules out Sannyāsa III. iv. 18 Not opposed to change of Āsrama III. iv. 40	
9. Upāsana (Angāvabaddha)			

Jābāla	*Audulōmi*	*Kāśakṛtsna*	*Kārśnājini*	*Ātreya*
In Bhru-Madhya Desa I. ii. 32				
	Bheda up to Mokṣa I. iv. 21	Bimba-Pratibimba I. iv. 22		
		Achāra avayava of Karma-(upalakṣana) III. i. 9		
	For Ṛtvik III. iv. 45			For Yajamān III.iv. 44

	Bādarāyana	*Jaimini*	*Āśmarathya*
10. Brahma	Hiranyagarbha IV. iii. 7-11 Ahangrahopāsana, to Brahma Lōka; Pratīkōpāsana, to lower lōkas IV. iii. 15	Para-Brahma IV. iii. 12	
11. Goal of Upasana	Life's enjoyments no bar to Brahma-Siddhi IV. iv. 7	Even Nirguna-Upāsana takes only to Hiranyagarbha IV. iv. 5	
12. Body after death	No sthūla śarira. IV. iv. 10 Both hold good IV. iv. 12	With sthula-śarira IV. iv. 11	

From the above analysis it will be seen that Vēda-Vyāsa has discussed threadbare the theories connected with Brahma-Vidya and formulated his conclusions definitely. That is why Śri Kṛṣṇa says that Brahma Vidya has been clearly dealt with in the Brahma Sutras with codified reasons for the different theories. Vēda-Vyāsa is definite that the goal of Brahma-Vidya is Mukti or Brahma-Sāyujya, through Brahma-Gñāna and Nirguṇa-Upāsana, Saguṇa Upāsana being the necessary step to it, as Karma is for Gñāna.

IV

After thus codifying the Vēdas and formulating the Brahma Sutras, Vēda-Vyāsa took up the task of compiling the story of the Pāndavas, with whom he was closely associated in his life. In fact it was he that gave birth to Dhṛtarāṣtra, Pāndu and Vidura. The virtues of the Pāndavas and their sufferings elicited the sympathy of Vyāsa, as they did the active sympathy of Śri Kṛṣṇa and several virtuous monarchs and sages of the day. When his son Śuka left the world, he broke up his Āśrama in Badari, and

Jābāla	*Audulōmi*	*Kāśakṛtsna*	*Kārṣṇājini*	*Ātreya*
	Brahman is attained to, not Brahma Lōka IV. iv. 6			

went to the banks of the Sarasvati and stayed away there in seclusion. He went to the Pāndavas whenever he knew they were in any irksome situation and was of great help to them spiritually at every stage. These occasions are referred to in the Mahābhārata by himself; and in the Devi-Bhāgavata, he tells Nārada that, though he was a sage, he could not but be swayed by Moha (attachment) towards the Pāndavas, firstly, because they were of his blood and secondly, because they were ever virtuous. The main theme of the Mahābhārata is that Hari or Śri Kṛṣṇa modelled the fortunes of the Pāndavas, as requested by Indra on the Gomanta Hill. (Harivamsa. II. 19). The Pāndavas had the grace of Durga, who took birth as the child of Yasoda for confounding Kamsa, the Āsuric King of Mathura. The third idea that is prominent in the Bhārata is that he who cares for his own interests is left severally alone by God while he who works for the good of others, subduing his own self *mamatva* gets all the good things of this world and of the heaven. Harivamsa deals with the story and the glory of Śri Kṛṣṇa. The Devi-Bhāgavata deals with the power and the glory of Devi. The Mārkandeya Purāṇa

illustrates the truth of the principle that selfness (*Mamatva*) ruins one, while Nirmamatva saves the body and the soul of man ultimately in this world and in the life beyond death. If we should thus examine all the works of Vēda-Vyāsa through the whole range of our pauranic literature, we are sure to see that one thread runs through the whole texture of the works of this great sage of Bharatavarṣa. It is idle to contend that Vēda-Vyāsa is but a name to conjure with and no more. He was a star of the first magnitude in the literary horizon of this great Land, the Land known as Karmabhūmi.

When King Janamejaya was performing the Sarpayāga to avenge the death of his father Parikshit under unnatural circumstances, his disciple Vaisampāyana related the Mahābhārata at the bidding of Vyāsa. This was repeated by Sūta in later times to the Saunaka Ṛṣis in Naimiśāranya to relieve them from the sufferings of this age of Kali. After the Mahābhārata was completed and the Sarpayāga was stopped by Āstika the son of Jaratkāru (the sage) and Jaratkāru (the sister of Vāsuki), Janamejaya wanted to know the full story of Śri Kṛṣṇa, who had done so much for his ancestors. Then Vyāsa told the Harivamsa to Janamejaya. After it was over, Janamejaya was still overwhelmed with grief and could not get peace of mind thinking again and again of the *Durmarana*, the unnatural end, of his father. Then Vyāsa related to Janamejaya the Devi-Bhāgavata, which he had earlier communicated to his son Śuka. Jaimini, the disciple of Vyāsa, asked the sage Mārkandeya for an explanation of some difficulties in the Mahābhārata and Mārkandeya referred him to the four Dharma-Birds, who had fallen as birds, from the position of sages, by their selfness (*Mamatva*). The birds related the story of those that had risen by Vairāgya in the land of Dharma, in different ages. Thus these Purāṇas are all historically and literarily connected with one another, both in the external details and in their internal structure. And yet there are critics who take pride in thinking that all these Purāṇas represent the fictitious imaginings of different sets of writers to glorify one section or another, at the expense of others, for their own material ends, trying to hoodwink their lesser brethren, for their own glory.

Could there be any idea or statement more sacriligious than this for the fair name of India and Her culture? I pray that our young men and women will, in the name of education of a national type, be led into the glorious precincts of our sacred literature, in the language of the Devas, the language of Saṁskāra or purification of the body and the soul.

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THE FOUR VALUES IN HINDU THOUGHT

(A Study of the Puruṣārthas)[1]

BY P. NAGARAJA RAO

CONTEMPORARY European thought has chiefly concentrated its attention on the study of the metaphysical status and import of the three traditional values :—Truth, Beauty, and Goodness. A large number of scientific-minded Humanist Philosophers of the West have affirmed their faith in values. As against the crude materialist assertion that values are subjective, and morality is rationalised expediency, the rationalistic savants of the West have asserted the objective and intrinsic nature of values. In such a philosophic background it is worth while to examine the Indian conception of values.

Values are to be contrasted with the study of facts. Scientific observation acquaints us with facts. The study of values involves judgment. Value is a judgment that a thing is desirable (*iṣta*) for the well-being of man. That which acts as a means in securing the desirable end is called an instrumental value (*iṣta-sādhanata*). An apparent study of human wants gives us the impression that the number of instrumental values we pursue is legion. But a close scrutiny shows that most of the desired and desirable things of this earth are finite, and perishable. The stamp of mortality is deeply set on them. They yield pleasure only for the time being. Such of those instruments that secure the transient and fleeting pleasures of life are instrumental values, as contrasted with ultimate and intrinsic values. Ultimate values are ends in themselves and not means to any other end. Hence, Truth, Beauty, and Goodness are asserted as intrinsic values.

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1. The term Puruṣārtha means human values. They are four in number *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa*.

Hindu Philosophical thought has proclaimed that there are *four* different human values :—(1) Dharma=the Good, (2) Artha= Possessions, (3) Kāma=Passions, and (4) Mokṣa=Salvation. Not all of them are accepted as ultimate values. By most of the systems of Indian Philosophy *Artha* and *Kāma* are relegated to the level of instrumental values. They are not *Parama-Puruṣārthas* (ultimate values). *Mokṣa* and *Dharma* have been classified as ultimate and intrinsic values. Though there is a great deal of difference in the descriptions of *Mokṣa* given by the different schools of philosophy, still there is the great measure of agreement as to the non-return of the liberated to the Spatio-temporal world of *Saṁsara.* Peace, Bliss and non-return to the world of *Saṁsara* are the characteristics of the liberated soul.

Artha and *Kāma* (possessions and passions) are not discarded and despised by the Hindu Ethicist: they have a right and limited jurisdiction in the building up of human personality: they fulfil their functions only when they subserve the end *Mokṣa.* Wealth, valour and power are in themselves neutral. Their moral nature is determined by the use to which they are put. To merit the name instrumental values, *Artha* and *Kāma* must subserve the end *Mokṣa* in accordance with the behests of *Dharma.* The spiritual aspirant in order to attain *Mokṣa* need not effect a violent rupture with ordinary life. Ancient Indian culture never stood for the complete denial of the enjoyment of all the goods of life. "There was never in India a national ideal of poverty or squalor." On the other hand, there has always been an insistence of a degree of freedom from sordidness and indigence of a grinding type.

The two-fold paths advocated by Hinduism—the way of active life (*pravṛtti*) and the path of renunciation (*nivṛtti*)—have assumed an entirely new significance at the hands of the author of the Gīta. The Gīta idea of these two paths is an advance on the *Varnaṣrama* view of it. The *Varnaṣrama* view treated the life of activity (*pravṛtti*) as purely utilitarian. The good that accrued from the treading of the activity-path was useful to society as well as to the individual. The path of renunciation (*nivṛtti*) was conceived as involving the cessation of all activities

(*sarva Karma Saṁnyasa*). The Gita idea of morality cuts fresh ground here. The Gita insists on a life of activity with the spirit of perfect detachment to the things of the world and attachment to God. It is dead against the view of the cessation of all activities. It does not stand for *Karma Saṁnyasa*, but it stands for *Phalasaṁnyasa* (the renunciation of the fruits of the activity). The utilitarian taint attached to the life of Pṛvṛtti is transferred by the spirit of the renunciation of the fruits of the activity. The detachment taught by the Gita is not stoicism, because it involves attachment to God.[2]

Passing on to consider the value *Dharma*, this is a most difficult sanskrit-term to render into English. We can take the *Good* as a fair equivalent of it. A liberal interpretation of the term *Dharma* means that which sustains society in perfect and just equilibrium. The securing of an atmosphere where every one can grow to the best of his nature is the effect of the presence of the value *Dharma*. It gives coherence and direction to the different activities of life. Some have interpreted the term '*Dharma*' (the *Nyāya* School) to mean 'moral merit' accruing from the performance of scripture-ordained duties. *Dharma* is ethical excellence. It is at once the substance of social as well as individual morality. It entails the cultivation of virtues like fortitude, temperance and self-restraint. Further the social aspect enjoins the performance of duties to others in accordance to the law givers. On this view the performance of *Dharma* turns out at best to be instrumental (*iṣta-sadhana*) towards the attainment of either heavenly bliss (*svarga*) or the enjoyment of fruits of this world.

One of the two prominent branches of the schools of *Mīmaṁsa*, the Prabhākara school holds the view that *Dharma* is an ultimate value. It is posited as an end in itself and not a means to any other End. This is the Indian version of the German philosopher Kant's moral theory. Kant held that the dictates of *Practical Reason* are to be treated as categorical

2. *The Two-fold view of Life*: By Prof. M. Hiriyanna; Presidential address to the Philosophy section of the Eighth Oriental Conference, Mysore

imperatives. His dictum was "duty for duty's sake". Prabhākara insists the performance of *Dharma* for Dharma's sake. Such a formalistic ethical theory has been criticised on one and the same ground in the East as well as the West. Such a theory hardly has a content for morality and has been described as a drill sergeant's theory of morality. It is extremely formal and as such difficult to apply to life. Such a theory in the words of Śankara reduces all activities to a form of meaningless drudgery.

The Vēdānta like most other schools treats *Mokṣa i.e.* spiritual realisation as the only ultimate value and the other three are regarded as instrumental to it. *Dharma* is considered an instrumental value in a *specific sense.* It is instrumental not in securing the objects desired by our deluded self, born out of attachment (*rāga*) and hatred (*dveṣa*). It is instrumental in securing *Mokṣa* from which state there is no return, to this world of sorrow and rebirth. The desire for *Mokṣa* is born out of *Gñāna* and not delusion. *Dharma* is not instrumental to the realisation of secular Ends, but it is used here to achieve the supreme spiritual ideal.

Prof. M. Hiriyanna in his address to the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona has pointed out that Indian Philosophy is essentially a Philosophy of Values.[3] If the term value means, being ultimate and intrinsic, the Indian conception that *Mokṣa* is the only such value is hardly refutable. The Western conception Truth, Beauty and Goodness as ultimate values hardly stands the test of critical analysis. Like the Indian theists or after the manner of Christianity the three traditional values have to be concretised in the personality of a Deity. Without such a concreatisation the ontological status of the values, however cleverly bolstered up by the Realist empistemologies, do not commend itself to our acceptance. Realising the barrenness of abstract dialectics Indian Philosophy proclaimed *Mokṣa* as the only supreme value. Mokṣa is a realisation and not a mere understanding. It is an immediate awareness of the universal in us. "Indian Philosophy

3. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.* Vol. XIX. Part I, 1938. P. 1 to 22.

does not stop short at the discovery of truth, but utilises it for attaining of something else which it holds as the supreme value." The supreme object of philosophy, (according to all schools) is to help man out of misery and restlessness and bestow the enjoyment of unalloyed bliss. This can never happen if Truth is to be treated as an ultimate value and as instrumental towards the spiritual realisation. Hence Indian Philosophers have to remove Truth from the high pedestal of being an ultimate value. Truth for Truth's sake, art for art's sake are dogmas unacceptable to the Hindu view. All are useful for the realisation of the *Atman*. Even the little and short-lived desires that we have for the things of this world are due to our love of the *Atman* [4]. Philosophy is not a mere game of speculation to the Hindu mind. It is a serious attempt to find the ways and means to escape from the trammels of *saṁsara* and get at spiritual realisation. It arises out of a deep pragmatic need to seek something permanent and avoid the flux of births and deaths.

The third of the traditional values of the West 'Beauty' has attracted the Hindu mind, and there is some difference of opinion about it among the ancient thinkers. The puritans have not disguised their distrust of Beauty and its expression in several arts. Manu the ancient Law Giver reckons in his list of weaknesses (vyasanas) song, dance and instrumental music. There was this view that all forms of æsthetic pleasures are disguises of sensual pleasure. Hence it was not even praised as in instrumental value.

Side by side with this view there were others who held the view that art and beauty were intrinsically valid and objective experiences. Kālidasa in his Mālavikagnimitra makes the dancing Master say that "the high esteem in which he holds his art is on account of its intrinsic merit, not because he professes it." Some others hold the view that art leads to the experiencing

4. Yagn̄avalkya in the famous discourse to his wife Maitreyi on the eve of his retirement to the forest says: "Verily, my dear, it is not for the love of the husband that the husband is dear, but it is for the love of the *atman*, that the husband is dear,............verily it is not for the love of all things that all things are dear, but for the love of the Ātman that all things are dear."

of æsthetic ecstasy (*rasanubhava*) which they say is akin to Brahman realisation (with this difference that the artist returns to the world of facts after he lapses from the æsthetic experience and the *mukta* knows no return to the world of *Saṁsara*).

Taking these different views the verdict of Indian thought is largely in favour of the view to treat beauty and art as instrumental values. There is no denial of the fact that beauty has an irresistable and universal appeal. This is an unique frame of mind characteristic of the artist. The contemplative mood which is very near the *niṣ-kāma-karma* attitude helps the spiritual aspirant. Some have regarded art as the yoga of the layman. The artistic detachment born out of the psychical distance maintained by the artist goes a great way to help the spiritual aspirant. *Rasa* realisation is a step on the onward march to Brahman realisation. Thus we find that according to the Indian view all the three values (of the Western as well as Eastern list) are subsidiary to one and the same end *Mokṣa*.

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On the Ancient Greek Myth about Adonis as a Vegetation Spirit or Corn-spirit

BY THE LATE SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

IN the mythology of the ancient Greeks, Adonis is described as being a young man possessed of remarkable beauty, and as being the favourite of the goddess Aphrodite (or Venus). According to one ancient Greek myth he was the son of the Syrian King named Theias by his daughter named Smyrna (Myrrha) who had been inspired by Aphrodite with incestuous love. When Theias discovered the truth, he was about to kill his daughter. But the gods took pity on Smyrna and metamorphosed her into a tree bearing the same name, that is to say, into the myrrh-tree.

After ten months, the tree burst asunder and out of it was produced Adonis. Being charmed by the baby's exquisite beauty Aphrodite concealed the new-born infant in a box and made him over to Persephone for being nursed and molly-coddled by her.

When the child grew up and Aphrodite demanded him back from Persephone, the latter refused to give him back to the former. Thereupon an appeal was made to Zeus who decided that Adonis should spend a third of the year with Persephone, and a third with Aphrodite, the remaining four months of the year being at his own disposal.

According to the version given in Ovid's Metamorphosis Adonis was killed by a boar; and this version was followed by Shakespeare.

Festivals called the Adonia were annually held in honour of Adonis at Byblus, and also, from the fifth century *B.C.* onwards at different places in Greece. The main object of this festival was to express sorrow and grief for the death of Adonis who was generally represented by an effigy which was subsequently thrown into the water.

From a study of the foregoing ancient Greek myth and of the researches made by J. G. Frazer and L. R. Farnell upon the subject thereof, we find that:—

(1) Scholars are now generally agreed in opining that Adonis was a vegetation-spirit whose death and return to life symbolised the decay of nature during the winter season, and the revival thereof during the spring time.

(2) In the form of the "Adonia" festival which was celebrated at Athens, a noteworthy rite which was performed therein was the formation of what were known as "Adonis Gardens" which were nothing but pots sown with seeds. These seeds were forced to grow artificially. But the seedlings in the "Adonis Garden" withered away quickly.

The formation of these "Adonis Gardens" bears a strong similarity to the underdescribed rite which is performed in Lower Bengal on the occasion of the "Itu" Festival.

The Itu-Puja is celebrated, as far as my knowledge goes, only in Lower Bengal and commences on the Sankranti or last day of the Bengali month of Agrahayana (November—December) and is concluded on the Sankranti or last day of the Bengali month of Poush (December—January) of every year. The name "Itu" of the deity, who is worshipped on this occasion, is a corruption of the word "Mitu" which is, again a corruption of the sanskrit word "Metra" this last word being the name of the Sun-God. This being so, the Itu-Pooja is nothing but the worship of the Sun-god and is, most likely, performed to ensure the growth of bumper crops and to secure prosperity resulting from good harvests. This pooja or worship is performed on the last days of the Bengali months of Agrahayana and Poush and on the intervening Sundays that is to say, on six days.

The offerings presented to the Sun-deity on the occasion of this puja or worship are some miniature clay jugs and cups which are coloured white and adorned with drawings, on the outside thereof, of lines and spots of a reddish brown colour. These are called "Itur Bhand". But the most important offering is that of an earthen saucer or pan which is filled with mud from the bed of river Ganges and sown with the "Five cereals" that is

to say, with the five kinds of seeds, namely (1) barley, (2) pea, (3) mash kalari pulse (Phaseolus raditus), (4) mung pulse (Phaseolus anratus) and (5) mustard. Sometimes, corns of the edible arum (colocasia antiquorum) are also planted along with the aforementioned five kinds of seeds, in the Ganges-mud in the earthen pan or saucer. These miniature seed-plots or "Adonis Gardens" are irrigated with water on the six days of worship mentioned above. The seeds, as also the corns of arum sprout and grow up into small plants.

The rites with which this worship of the Sun-deity are performed are, very likely, the same as those performed on the occasion of worshipping the other deities of the higher Hindu pantheon.

After the puja has been finished on the last day of the month of Poush, the "saucer-gardens" with the plants growing in them which I may appropriately describe, are the "Adonis-Gardens" of Lower Bengal, are thrown away into a river or a tank. The miniature clay jugs and cups are distributed as play-things among the children of the household.

The question now arises: why are these "Adonis-Gardens" of Lower Bengal planted and presented as offerings to the Sun-god?

In reply to this question, I must say that "sympathetic magic" or Imitative Magic underlies the planting of these miniature seed plots or "Saucer Gardens".

It is a well-known scientific fact that sun-shine is essentially necessary for the growth of plants and, for the matter of that, of all kinds of food crops. In order that the Sun-God may be so far propitiated and coaxed as to promote the growth of vegetation and to grant bumper crops, a miniature garden is planted in which the action of the sun's rays in the shape of promoting the growth of the vegetation is imitated by forcing the seeds and corns of arum to grow.

I am, therefore, of opinion that the similarity between the "Adonis Gardens" of the ancient Greeks, and the miniature "Saucer Gardens" of the Bengalis is complete.

(3) The myth describing the squabble between Aphrodite and Persephone for the possession of Adonis bears a strong resemblance to the story of Tamuz and Ishtar. "In other words, Aphrodite is the Oriental Mother-goddess; Adonis is her lover; the details have been influenced by the legend of Demeter".

(4) The ceremonies performed at the festival of Adonia have been interpreted by competent scholars to be a charm for promoting the growth of vegetation. While the throwing of the "Adonis Gardens" and of the effigies of Adonis into the water, has been interpreted by them to be another charm to ensure the falling of copious rain. (Mannhardt has pointed out other European parallels of these rites.)

(5) Sir J. G. Frazer, however, thinks that Adonis is not a God of vegetation generally, but is specially a corn-spirit. He is further of opinion that the mourning for Adonis is not made for the decay of vegetation, during winter, but is observed for the cruel treatment which is meted out to the corn by the reaper (in the shape of cutting the corn with his sickle) and by the miller (in the shape of grinding the corn in his mill.) (G. Robert Burns's John Barley Corp.)

(6) An important point in the foregoing ancient Greek myth is the connection of the Adonis with the boar. It has been suggested that Adonis himself was, very likely, incarnate in the swine.

(7) It has been already pointed out that, according to one account, Adonis was slain by a boar. If we accept this version, we will find that the boar's slaying of Adonis is an instance of "a god having been sacrificed to himself as his own enemy" which has a parallel in the sacrifice of the goat and bull to Dionysius.

(8) Then again, "whenever sacrifices of swine occur in the ritual of Aphrodite, there is reference to Adonis. In any case, the conception of Adonis as a swine-god does not contradict the idea of him as a vegetation or corn-spirit which, in many parts of Europe, appears in the form of a boar or sow."

EASTERN RELIGIONS AND WESTERN THOUGHT*

BY S. SRIKANTAYA

SIR SARAVAPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN delivered a series of addresses between the years 1936-38 before the University of Oxford, the World Congress of Faiths, London, the Royal Society of Arts and elsewhere. They are collected together in "Eastern Religions and Western Thought" a work published by the Oxford University Press marking the turning point in Western civilization, written with earnest conviction and conspicuous ability. It draws the attention of the west to neglected opportunities in spite of long association with a much older and maturer civilization. It is a challenge, as Professor Muirhead points out, alike to the traditionalism which look to events in the past and to modernism which look to events in the future instead of to values which are eventless and timeless, as the ground of their faith.

The development in the means of communications on land, air and sea has led to a shrinkage of the world for all practical purposes. With the progress of mankind on one side proceeds apace endless destruction throughout the globe. In this quickly changing world, without the establishment of the rule of law both for individuals and states, there is no peaceful life upon the earth. Highly civilised nations as well as primitive peoples with their varying civilization and cultures will equally suffer. World problems must be studied from an international family point of view and political, social and economic policies must subserve the common interests of humanity. With this view, an endeavour is made to cull a few flowers from the work of Sir Radhakrishnan and present them to the public in grateful appreciation. After it was first published, we are all overpowered by a cataclysm which has convulsed the world and this work has assumed also a topical importance.

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* Eastern Religions and Western Thought. By Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Published by the Oxford University Press.

The modern civilization with its scientific temper, humanistic spirit, and a secular view of life is uprooting the world over the customs of long centuries and creating a ferment of restlessness. The new world cannot remain a confused mass of needs and impulses, ambitions and activities, without any control or guidance of the spirit. The void created by abandoned superstitions and uprooted beliefs calls for a spiritual filling. A new humanism embraces the whole of mankind without creed or sect or race. For, "so long as one man is in prison, I am not free; so long as one community is enslaved, I belong to it." The supreme task of our generation is to give a soul to the growing world-consciousness, to develop ideals and institutions necessary for the creative expression of the world-soul, to transmit these loyalties and impulses to future generations and train them into world citizens. To this great work of creating a new pattern of living, some of the fundamental insights of Eastern religions, especially Hinduism and Buddhism, seem to be particularly relevant. No culture, and no country, lives or had a right to live for itself and the contributions of ancient Greece, of the Roman Empire, or renaissance Italy to the progress of humanity do not concern only the people of these parts, for they are a part of the heritage of humanity itself. Human history has many developments. Man cannot rest in an unresolved discord. Attempts to bring about human unity through mechanical means or through political adjustments have proved abortive and the unity of the human race cannot thereby be enduringly accomplished. There must be a soul of being, the determining principle of body and mind each changing the minds and hearts of men.

Humanism is the religion of the majority of the intellectuals today. We have no strong public opinion, or effective international law to restrain the predatory state and this is responsible for the world crisis today. The pharaohs of Egypt, the sages of China, and the seers of India are guide-posts disclosing to us the course of the trail. Religion has been the master passion of the Hindu mind, a lamp unto its feet and a light unto its path, the presupposition and basis of its civilization, the driving force of its culture, and the expression—in spite of its tragic failures, inconsistencies, divisions and degradations—of its life in God. Hinduism

adopts a rationalist attitude in the matter of religion. In the theistic systems, the essential thing is not the existence of the deity but its power to transform man. Brahman is the principal search as well as the object sought, the animating ideal and its fulfilment. The very fact that we seek God clearly proves that life cannot be without him. God is life and the recognition of this fact is spiritual consciousness. The process of self-discovery is not the result of intellectual analysis but of the attainment of a human integrity reached by a complete mastery over nature.

From the beginning of her history, India has adored and idealized not soldiers and statesmen, not men of science and captains or leaders of industry, not even poets and philosophers, who influence the world by their deeds or by their words, but those rarer and more chastened spirits, whose greatness lies in what they are and not in what they do; men who have stamped infinity on the thought and life of the country; men who have added to the invisible forces of goodness in the world. To a world given over to the pursuit of power and pleasure, and wealth and glory, they declare the reality of the unseen world and the call of the spiritual life. Their self-possession and self-command, their strange deep wisdom, their exquisite courtesy, their humility and gentleness of soul, their abounding humanity, proclaim that the destiny of man is to know himself and thereby further the universal life of which he is an integral element.

The human being has his roots in the invisible though his life belongs to the passing stream of the visible. His evolution is a constant self-transcending until he reaches his potential and ultimate nature which the appearances of life conceal or only very inadequately express. Body and mind, instinct and intellect become the willing servants of the spirit and not its tyrannical masters. The uniqueness of man among all the products of nature lies in this, that in him nature seeks to exceed itself consciously, no longer by an automatic or unconscious activity, but by mental and spiritual effort. Man is not a plant or an animal but a thinking and spiritual being set to shape his nature for higher purposes.

Greek civilization was a magnificent achievement of the human reason and it was by no means one-sided. The Greek

inheritance has enabled the west to remake the world. Earth, sea and air have been made to yield to the service of man. Though the triumphs of intellect are greater, its failures are no less great. Left to himself, man feels kinship with the whole universe especially with living things and human beings. We believe that we have conquered nature, simply because science has pushed the boundaries of the unknown farther from us. Yet, we are as far as ever from having conquered our own nature. Life today, in spite of our material possessions and intellectual acquisitions, in spite of our moral codes and religious doctrines, has not given us happiness. Looking down the ages, age after age, world after world, man finds advancing along the corridors of time, trying to control his difficult, discordant, divided self and asking, shall I never escape from this delusion? Religion is the conquest of fear, the antidote to failure and death. Avidyā or ignorance is the source of anguish and vidyā or wisdom, buddhi or enlightenment brings salvation. Abhaya or freedom from fear, is a temper of mind, not the acceptance of a belief or the practice of a rite. Abhaya and ahimsa, awareness and sympathy, freedom and love, are two features, theoretical and practical, of religion. When the Hindu thinkers ask us to free ourselves from māya, they are asking us to shake off our bondage to the unreal values which are dominating us. They do not ask us to treat life as an illusion or be indifferent to the world's welfare. They are asking us to escape from the illusion which holds us by the throat and makes us pursue physical satisfaction or corporate self-seeking as the highest end. How can we rise above the present vision of the world with its anarchic individualism, its economic interpretations of history, and materialistic views of life? By purification, concentration and identification. For a disciplined mind, ordinary life or familiar surroundings are no distraction. If people sometimes go to the hill tops or monastaries, deserts and caves, it is because they are places which help to draw the soul away from its familiar surroundings. This withdrawal from the world into a solitary retreat is not essential, though it is helpful. Pratyāhāra is what generally is known as abstraction. The three other stages are dhāraṇa or concentration, dhyāna or meditation, and samādhi or

unification. We can reach the depths of nature by bursting through the outer strata. The process of vital realization of God is not a comfortable one for those of us who are given to the delights of the flesh and love of visible things. In samādhi or ecstatic consciousness, we have a sense of immediate contact with ultimate reality, of the unification of the different sides of our nature. The soul in solicitude is the birth of religion. Moses on the lonely Mount of Sinai, Buddha under the Bodhi Tree lost in contemplation, Jesus by the Jordan in the stillness of prayer, Paul in the lonely sojourn in the desert, Muhammad on a solitary mount at Mecca, Francis of Assisi in his prayers in the remote crags of the highlands of Alverno, found the strength and the assurance of the reality of God. Everything that is great, new, and creative in religion arises out of the unfathomable depths of the soul in the quiet prayer, in the solitude of meditation. Religion is a way of life: it is the seeking of the eternal. Whatever religion people may profess, the mystics are spiritual kinsmen as Lalla has told us and the mystics always stand for fellowship amidst rivalry of creeds as well as above the conflict of race and the strife of nations. Mysticism is a word ill-favoured by the rationalist as well as by the dogmatic theologian. It is criticized as a tendency to see things cloudily in a golden or sentimental haze, to justify the habits of the human mind to entertain contradictory beliefs at the same time, to exact confusion of thought. Mysticism is none of these things. It is the admission of mystery in the universe. As Einstein puts it "the fairest things we can experience is the mysterious. It is the fundamental emotion which stands at the cradle of true art and true science." Religion itself may take three forms, primitive or sensuous, reflective and mystical and the last is not a mere speculation of reason or a feeling of dependence a mode of behavior. It is something which our entire self is, feels and does; it is the concurrent activity of thought, feeling and will. We find in the epics of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata stress laid on the joy of life and the dignity of man, an eager desire for personal pre-eminence and love of adventure. The Bhagavadgīta exalts the idea of action as a way to God. Rāmānuja and the long line of theists who came after him affirmed

the reality of the world and the efficacy of action. They are to be treated as having departed from the main tradition. If Gandhi and Tagore today adopt an ethical view of life, it is certainly to be traced to their contact with the Christian West. Material civilization cannot be accounted for by the principles of scientific naturalism. Progress is not its own end. It is the ultimate reality: it cannot ever be completed. We can get nearer and nearer the goal, but cannot reach it. Its process has neither the beginning nor an end.

The spirit in man is different from the individual ego. It is that which animates and exercises the individual, the vast background of his being in which all individual lies. The heart of religion is that man truly belongs to another order, and the meaning of man's life is to be found not in this world but in more than historical reality. His highest aim is to obtain release from the historical succession denoted by birth and death. Śaṁkara, rightly credited with the systematic formulation of the doctrine of māya, tells us that the highest reality is unchangeable, and therefore the changing existence such as human history has not ultimate reality. He warns us however, against the temptation to regard what is not completely real as utterly illusory. The world has an empirical being which is quite different from illusory existence. Simply because the world of experience is not the perfect form of reality, it does not follow that it is a delusion, without any significance. The world is not a phantom, though it is not real. Brahman is said to be the real of the real, *satyasyasatyam*. In all objective consciousness, we are in a sense aware of the real. Śaṁkara does not tell us that the process of the world is perpetual recurrence, in which events of the past cycles are represented in all their details. The explanation offered by Śaṁkara admits that the Universe is dependent on the Absolute, though not the Absolute on the Universe. A distinction is made between manifestation or transformation and one-sided dependence. The illustrations used in explaining the latter type of dependence suggest the illusory theory of the world. Mysticism has also its fanatics who look upon the real as spiritual freedom and contrast it with the actual in its bondage declaring that birth is an error of the soul and our

chance of liberation lies in shaking off these shackles. Mokṣa or release is the extinction of the individual, his annulment in the Absolute. Since the world is an illusion, it is a waste of energy to spend labour and heroism in battling with its merely illusory events. This view cannot be accepted since the path of the universe becomes then an aimless one. Śaṁkara has nothing in common with people who will not accept the visible world any more than with those who will accept nothing else. The liberated individual works for the welfare of the world. As the Bhagavadgīta tells us, man does not attain to the state of being without work by undertaking no work, nor does he reach perfection by shunning the world. It is improper for a man to remain without sharing in the work of the world even when God consents to work for the universe. For a knower of Brahman, there is no wealth comparable to unity, sameness, truthfulness, virtue, steadfastness, non-injury, candour, and withdrawal from all activities. The great teachers are united in thinking that the soul of man is more precious than the immensity of the world and its growth is effected in moments of leisure and meditation. To grow more profound, to grasp essential truth, is the special privilege of man. But this is not to shirk living or to run away from life. We have to fight not nature's death but man-made death. There are the great catastrophes of famine, flood and earthquakes. They cause suffering and devastation, and yet is not Gibbon right when he says that man has much more to dread from the passion of his fellow-creatures than from the convulsions of the elements? Gibbon wrote many years ago, but have we improved since his time? Have we abolished the rivalries of mankind? Is not economic competition quite as ruthless as war itself, though less dramatic and spectacular? Slow grinding starvation is not less deadly in its effects than bombs and bullets. Religion has to fight against wars, social, military and economic, even though it may mean loss of dividends to a few individuals. Until the dignity of life, the importance of human happiness, and a horror of subjection under any guise become functioning realities, our economic, our racial, and our national Utopias will remain inhuman monstrosities demanding the murder of bodies and souls. The essential

unity of human thought and divine spirit, the immortality of the human soul, the escape from the restless wheel of troublesome journey, the phenomenality of the world, the contempt for the body, the distinction between knowledge and opinion contradict every single idea of Greek popular religion.

Though Asia and Europe are different, they are not so completely different as to disallow an interchange of goods, material and spiritual. From the mystic tendencies in the two streams may be noticed their affinity of type more than their identity of origin. The Olympian religion of the Greek and Vedic beliefs had a common background. There is also striking similarity between the social life described in the Homeric poems and in the Vedas. The ethical and religious speculations of the Jews derived largely from the culture which was common to Sumer, Egypt and the Indus. There is great agreement between the teaching of the Upaniṣads on the nature of reality and the Eleatic doctrine, between the Sāmkhya teaching and the views of Empedocles and Anaxagoras. To the student of cultural development, similarities are not due to borrowing but are the result of parallel intellectual evolution; the important thing is that the ideas are similar. Cultural influences travelled along the interesting avenues of trade and brought importance to the Tigro-Euphratis Valley, the Mediterranean Sea-board and the Nile region in different periods of the world's history. The leavening elements of the Mesopatamian civilization survive in the signs of the zodiac, the system of measuring space and time, etc. Migration of racial units combined with immemorial beliefs and customs along with weapons for peace and war and domesticated animals. Folk-beliefs of a remote age became symbolised and consolidated into a common heritage. Personification of the powers of nature and their endowment with human form and attributes became common factors and mythology tried to solve the riddle of the universe and to adjust the relations of mankind with the various forces represented by the deities. Priests systematised folk-beliefs and established an official religion. They were firmly established in India before the sixth century B.C. and they arise in Greece after that period. If Eusebius is to be trusted, we

have contemporary evidence of the presence in Athens as early as the fourth century B.C. of Indian thinkers.

Europe, it is said, would have been a very different place, more humane and peace-loving, less given to national and racial feuds, if cultural cosmopolitanism of the Stoics had been allowed to leaven the European world, if the persecutions of Marcus Aurelius had exterminated the Christian creed. The victory of Christianity was in retaining the Jewish beliefs in a living God and passion for righteousness and to absorb Greek thoughts and Roman traditions. Nevertheless, the doctrine of the State as a divine creation was supported by the apostles and the primitive Church.

In the list of inhabitants during the time of Vespasian, an Egyptian is registered as absent in India. Prof. Wilcken discovered from an inscription in the temple of Redēsīye on the Red Sea Port the name of an Indian traveller who halted there to worship at the shrine of the Greek god Pan. Hindus are said to have visited the mountains of the moon (Kenya) and a spring with a flaming mouth near Baku. Still later, Cornelius Nepos says that certain Hindus were shipwrecked on the shores of the Baltic and that in the end they settled in Arabia. The river Indus was known as early as the sixth century B.C. to the Greeks. An Indian scholar was got for Alexander's tutor in the fourth century B.C. Pythagoras was considered to be the disciple of the Brahmans. The notions of Indian philosophy and religion which filtered into the Roman Empire flowed through channels opened by Alexander.

Alexander's invasion of India in 327 B.C. started a closer interchange of thought between India and the West. Apparently, Buddhism must have been prevalent in India for nearly two centuries before Alexander's time, and he made an effort to acquaint himself with the Hindu and Buddhist thought. According to the Mahāvamśa, at the foundation of the great tope by the king Dutthagāmini in the year 157 B.C. the senior priest of Yona from the vicinity of Alasadda was accompanied by thirty thousand priests. Strabo on the authority of Nicolaus of Damascus states that an Indian embassy

including a thinker from Taxila who burnt himself to death at Athens in twenty B.C. was sent to Augustus by the Indian King Poros. It is interesting to observe that the moral teachings of Jesus with its ascetic and other-wordly emphasis has been anticipated several hundred years by the Upaniṣads and Buddha. Nearly five hundred years before Jesus, Buddha went round the Ganges valley proclaiming a way of life which would deliver men from the bondage of ignorance and sin. In a hundred and fifty years after his death, tradition of his life and passing away became systematized. Later, Buddha himself is transfigured and his body shines with matchless brightness. With tender compassion for all beings, he set forth to establish the kingdom of righteousness, to give light to those enshrouded in darkness and open the gate of immortality to men. Both Buddha and Jesus did lay up for their disciples a treasure which neither moth nor rust would corrupt, nor thieves break through and steal. Just as Buddha condemns the gloomy ascetic practices which prevailed in ancient India, Jesus goes beyond John the Baptist's emphasis on observances and ascetic rites. Many of the parables are common in both of them. To love one's enemies, to bless them that curse, to do good to them that hate, to turn the other cheek, to leave the cloak with him who takes the coat, to give all to him who asks, which are the teachings of Jesus, are precepts not only taught but practised in their extreme rigour by the Buddha in his many lives, according to the Jātakas. Buddha revolted against the complexities of the sacrificial religion as Jesus did against Jewish legalism. Both Buddha and Christ, in the spirit of the Upaniṣads, demanded the death or the sacrifice of the immediate natural existence as the condition of the new richer life. It was the mission of both to awaken men out of a state of spiritual indifference, to kindle within them a love of righteousness, to comfort the sorrowful, to reprove as well as to redeem the guilty. The contact between India and the West was more frequent in the period of the Roman Empire, especially in the reign of Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius and the Jātakas contain many references to Buddhist merchants and their adventures n distant lands. The vast development of material prosperity

in the Roman Empire had no spiritual purpose behind it. Gnosticism was a deliberate attempt to fuse Greek and Hindu elements. It is a name for the whole system of syncretistic religious thought, which covers many sects with widely differing tenets which prevailed in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire during and prior to the early days of Christianity. It existed long before the Christian era, though Christianity tended to look upon it as heresy. Many of the chief features of Gnosticism are those common to the Upaniṣads and the mystic traditions of the Greeks. Apollonius of Tyana, a famous Gnostic, is said to have journeyed to India and spent about four months in the monastery of the wise men as a guest of the Brahmans. To the careful student, the close similarity between the teaching of the Upaniṣads and early Buddhism and Gnostic theories will be obvious.

Primitive Christianity is a mystery religion, a way of living. Early Christians formed a mystery group meeting in secret and having an inner and outer circle. Christ answers to the Gnostic saviour God, the Logos and the idea of the Universe. When the Arab armies were defeated by Carles Martel near the French town of Poietiers in A.D. 732, they retreated towards Spain. This battle decided the great issue whether Christian civilization should continue or Islam prevail in Europe. Towards the end of the twelfth century, Western Europe acquired the complete body of Aristotle's logical writings in Latin translations made in Spain from the Arabic texts along with the commentaries of Arabian and Jewish philosophers. There are great similarities between Hindu, Persian and Christian forms of mysticism which may be accounted for as products of similar evolution. The Sufis combine Muhammad's prophetic faith in God with the wisdom of the Vēdānta and the spiritual discipline of the Yoga. Though the background of Islam is the Mediterranean culture from which the roots of Western civilization derive, it grew up under the influence of Hellenism and interpreted Hellenism to the medieval world. Christianity dismissed the followers of Islam as infidels, and later exchanges between East and West were for many centuries confined to exchanges on the battle-field between the forces of Christendom

and those of Islam. The struggle for the Indian market by the European nations began in 1498, when Vasco-da-gama discovered the sea route to India, and in 1509, when the Portuguese took possession of Goa. The lure of the East has not so far been any spiritual or human appeal but desire for gold and her company as a consumer. When universal covetousness has outstripped the means of gratifying it, when the unnatural conditions of life demand for their defence the conversion of whole nations into mechanized armies, when the supremacy of power-politics is threatened by its own inherent destructiveness, when the common people feel in their depths, blessed are the wombs which never bare and the breasts that never gave suck: it is a challenge to our principles and to our faith. The perception of the tragic humiliation of mankind must make us think deeply. The world is a moral invalid surrounded by quacks and christians, witch-doctors and medicine-men who are interested in keeping the patient in the bad habits of centuries. In spite of her great contribution to democracy, individual freedom, intellectual integrity, the Greek civilization passed away as the Greeks could not combine even among themselves on account of their loyalty to the city-states. Their exalted conceptions were not effective forces, and, except those who were brought under the mystery religions, the Greeks never developed a conception of human society in spite of the very valuable contributions of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics. The Roman gifts to civilization are of abounding value, but the structure of the Empire of Rome had completely ceased to exist by A.D. 500. Empires have a tendency to deprive us of our soul. Extension in growth is not necessarily a growth in spirit. Peace prevailed under the Roman rule, for none was left strong enough to oppose it. Rome had conquered the world, and had no rivals, none to struggle with or none to struggle for. The pax Romana reigned, but it was the peace of the desert, of sullen acquiescence and pathetic enslavement. The whole world groaned at the fall of Rome. The human race was included in the ruin. The fear of attack by barbaric hordes from every part of the world was constantly present, and the values of the spirit could not be fostered in an atmosphere of constant fear and imminent catastrophe. Philosophy failed, literature languished, and religion became rigid and superstitious.

Before Byzantium fell to the Turks in A.D. 1453, she had succeeded in spreading in the Western world the light of civilization and culture derived from Greece and Rome. And modern civilization, which took its rise after the fall of Byzantium seems to have worked itself out, for it is exhibiting today all the features which are strangely similar to the symptoms which accompany the fall of civilizations—the disappearance of tolerance and justice; the insensibility to suffering, love of ease and comfort, and the selfishness of individuals and groups; the rise of strange cults which exhibit not so much the stupidity of man as his unwillingness to use his intellectual powers; the wanton segregation of men into groups based on blood and soil.

The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 destroyed the last remains of the Roman Empire in the East and ushered in a new era. Rule expresses truth and justifies conduct and the passion for law, for rule, dominates Kant's philosophy. The influence of the renaissance aided the breaking of the power of the Papacy, in the establishment of Protestantism, and the right of free inquiry. The Christian theology which was once based on a sovereign act of God transcends all human powers of comprehension, gets readily rationalized and is recommended on the ground that it can be reconciled with scientific truth and ethical value.

In Hinduism, the attitude of freedom and generosity to other faiths is bound up with the conviction that the religious life has its source and certainty in the eternal depths of man's soul. In Indian thought, there is a theistic current, which refuses to blur the distinctiveness of individuals and looks upon God not only as immanent but as transcedent, and advocates prayer and personal appeal to the infinite instead of quiet and contemplation. The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, the Bhagavadgīta, the theistic reformers such as Rāmānuja and Madhva, and saints like Tukārām and Tulasidās, represent this tendency. In them, we find a fervent and tender, frank and vigorous life of prayer and communion with a personal God. Yet, the other tendency is the more prominent one. There is enough justification for regarding the mystic elements in the West as Indian. Science cannot minister to the needs of the soul; dogmatism cannot meet the needs of the intellect.

Atheism and dogmatism, scepticism and blind faith are not the only alternatives. We require a religion which is both scientific and humanistic. Religion, science, and humanism were sisters in India; they were allies in Greece. They must combine today if we are to attract all those who are equally indifferent to organised religion and atheism, to supernaturalism and nihilism. We need a spiritual home where we can live without surrendering the rights of reason or the needs of humanity. Reverence for truth is the moral value. It is dearer than Buddha and Jesus. Truth is opposed, not to reason or the Greek spirit, but to dogma and fossilized tradition. We cannot rest the case of religion any more on dogmatic supernaturalism. It is an inheritance of thought and aspirations to which every race in India has made its distinctive contribution. The Dravidians were more scattered throughout the continent and had developed a high civilization before the second millennium B.C. The Vedic Āryans had conflicts with Dasyus, whom they described as noseless, obviously a reference to their racial type. The Vedas mention the disapproval of the worshipper of the Phallus. Conflicts between Devas and Asuras are frequently mentioned. We find in the Ṛg Veda, Varuṇa and Mitra being called noble Asuras. Deities like Indra seem to belong to a rustic, semi-nomadic, half-barbarous people, while Varuṇa and Mitra suggest a somewhat higher level of culture. In reality, however, they were accepted by the Vedic Āryans. While the Vedas represented the religion of the classes, the masses continued to worship their traditional deities, Yakṣas and Nāgas. Behind the facade of Vedic orthodoxy and its tendency to abstract symbolism, an extensive and deep-rooted system of popular beliefs and cults and a decided tendency to the anthropomorphic prevailed. The Vedic religion, however, absorbed, embodied, and preserved the types and rituals of older cults. The interpenetration has been so complete, subtle, and continuous, with the result that there has grown up a distinct Hindu civilization which is neither Āryan nor Dravidian nor aboriginal. Ever since the dawn of reflection, the dream of unity has hovered over the scene and haunted the imagination of the leaders. The Real is one, the learned call it by various names, Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan. Priests and poets with words make into

many the hidden reality which is but one; the one spoken of or imagined in different ways. The Upaniṣads adopt the same view. The oneness of the supreme is insisted on, but variety of description is permitted. The light of absolute truth is said to be refracted as it passes through the distorting medium of human nature. In the boundless being of the Brahman are all the living powers that men have worshipped as gods, not as if they were standing side by side in space, but each a facet mirroring the whole. The different deities are symbols of the fathomless. The spread of Hinduism is described in the epics of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Though in them the facts of history are obscure in a haze of legend, they represent the great age of conflict, emigration, and adjustment out of which a civilization with old ideas but new accents emerges. By the time the cultural conquest of India was over, the civilization developed altered values. A strong onrush of devotional feeling pervaded the whole atmosphere. Worship was laid to the Supreme under different names. According to the Bhagavadgīta, the Supreme accepts us as we are, no matter how we approach Him, for all paths in which we may wander are His. In the supreme vision which Arjuna has, he sees the different deities within the boundless form of the Supreme. The Supreme which is essentially one, according to Viṣṇu Purāṇa, assumes the name of Brahma at the time of creation, of Viṣṇu while maintaining it, and of Śiva at the time of destruction. Śaṁkara did not believe in a God who denied the existence of his rivals. Though the religions of Islam and Christianity by their militant attitude occasionally provoked similar developments in Hinduism, its prevailing note continues to be one of understanding and acceptance of the bona fides of other faiths. Rāmakṛṣṇa experimented with different faiths, tested them in his own person to find out what is of enduring worth in them. He meditated on the Q'ran and practised the prescribed rites. He studied Christianity, and lived like a Christian anchorite. Buddha, Christ and Kṛṣṇa, he declared were forms of the Supreme and they are not all. Ram Moham Roy instructs that the Brahmo Samaj should be an universal house of prayer open to all men without distinction of caste or colour, race or nation. Over the door of Sāntiniketan, the home of the Tagores,

runs an inscription, not only, 'In this place no image is to be adored', but also 'And no man's faith is to be despised'. Gandhi says: 'If I were asked to define the Hindu creed, I should simply say: search after truth through non-violent means. A man may not believe in God but still call himself a Hindu. Hinduism is a relentless pursuit after truth.' Hinduism is 'the religion of truth.' Truth is God. Denial of God we have known. Denial of truth we have not known. Hinduism itself has become a mosaic of almost all the types and stages of religious aspiration and endeavour. It has adapted itself with infinite grace to every human need and it has not shrunk from the acceptance of every aspect of God conceived by man, and yet has preserved its unity by interpreting the different historical forms and modes, emanations, or aspects of the Supreme.

A world bristling with armaments and gigantic intolerance where all men, women, and children are so obsessed by the imminence of the catastrophe that streets are provided with underground refuges, that private houses are equipped with gas proof rooms, that citizens are instructed in the use of gas-masks and slit trenches, is conclusive evidence of the general degradation. East and West are both moving out of their historical past towards a way of thinking which shall eventually be shared in common by all mankind even as the material appliances are. The Greeco-Roman has for its chief elements rationalism, humanism, and the sovereignty of the states. The second current in Western religious life is a Jewish one. In the dark ages which may be regarded as extending from the end of the fifth century to the establishment of feudalism in the eleventh century, Europe weltered in ignorance and misery and lived in constant peril and pleasure. In the middle ages, faith was dominant and doubt was suppressed. Philosophy in the middle ages was scholasticism, and the greatest of the schoolmen was Thomas Aquinas. Man is altogether different from God. His place in the scheme is intermediate between non-intelligent matter on the one hand and pure intelligence on the other. When we look upon morality as a mere conformity to commands imposed on us by external authority and obeyed in the last resort not from any sense

of the intrinsic goodness of the act commanded, but because it is commanded and disobedience will mean unpleasant consequences, it becomes a species of self-seeking. To make virtue a means to the avoidance of happiness in the after-life is to degrade it, and that is what the medieval theologians did with their lurid pictures of torments. With the break-up of the feudal organization of society, competitive spirit and the profit motive covered the whole field of man's activities. In religion, hatred of Catholics and Protestants grew up. Wars of religion increased.

The Hindu view of the individual and his relation to society can be best brought out by a reference to the synthesis and gradation of the four-fold order of society (Brāhmaṇa, Kśatriya, Vaiṣya and Śudra varṇas) and the four-fold stages of life (Brahmacarya, gṛhasta, vānaprasta and sanyāsa asramas). The four ends of life point to the different sides of human nature, the instinctive and the emotional, the economic, the intellectual and the ethical and the spiritual. Within the four-fold scheme of the order of society, each individual has to follow his own nature and arrive at his possible perfection by a growth from within. The four-fold stages of life have for its aim, like the other schemes, the development of the individual; for life is a progress through stages.

The world of mortals is an interdependent organisation and world peace is only possible by a proper adjustment of wealth, labour and leisure. If we do not alter the frame-work of the social system and the international order, which are based on force and the exploitation of the inferior individuals and backward nations, world peace will be a wild dream. While resolved to renounce nothing, this generation wishes to enjoy the fruits of renunciation.

As His late Highness the Yuvarāja of Mysore (Kantīrava Narasimharāja Wadiyar Bahadur) said in his last message to the people of Mysore: "Let us work for a common understanding... different religions are needed to suit different temperaments. They are like the notes of some rich chord of harmony, or like various colours of a rainbow arising out of the common white light, so that all the religions together speak out the one truth of God, and in their many syllables the one divine name is heard.

"We are at the dawn of a new era and of the renaissance of the ancient glory and culture of our motherland, let us therefore consecrate ourselves to a life of harmony, good-will and understanding, full of faith in religious tolerance and unity, and go forward, with zeal and courage, to secure as equal partners in the British commonwealth, our rightful place among the great nations of the world, for the lasting benefit of humanity."

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REVIEWS

Tagore Birthday Number of the Visva-Bharati Quarterly—Edited by K. R. Kripalini. Published by the Visvabharati Office, Santiniketan, Bengal. Price Rs. 5/-. Postage extra as. 8.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE, sage, seer, poet, inspirer and prophet of modern India was an institution by himself and his last birthday was appropriately celebrated by the publication of this number containing articles which enables the reader to obtain a better understanding of the many-sided achievements of India's greatest creative genius, particularly in the modern time. The volume of his work translated into English is itself great but in the original Bengali it is too numerous; and poetry, drama, prose of almost every description has not escaped his expansive mind. There is no field of literary activity in Bengal which has not been explored and enriched by his daring exploration and adventure. In the crowded period of a life of eighty years is found the diversity of powerful impressions and feelings characterising throughout his magnificent and incredibly fecund career. Over two thousand songs set to music and in exquisite verse and fifteen hundred paintings form a gift to the Visva-Bharati. Through the endless variety and beauty of forms he has created his inspiring lyric poetry which echo the voice of the Upaniṣads quivering in accents of human intimacy; and he is unique as the author of an inexhaustible stream of songs, as exquisite in their melody as in the words which embodied it. All his life he has endeavoured for human freedom and pleaded and striven for social justice, for the right of the poor to material well-being, of the citizen to self-government, of the ignorant to knowledge, of the child to natural development, of the woman to equal dignity with man and has lived for the good of humanity. He has passed away after this number but he still lives in his works, in the minds of millions and millions of his countrymen whose lives he has enriched and whose shadows he has tried to dispel by the sweetness of his song and this birthday number gives an idea of the man and the work which this great Indian Mystic has accomplished

in his remarkable life. It is beautifully illustrated and contains a full account from his birth onwards for a period of eighty years. We congratulate the Visva-Bharati on the excellence of the work and the contributions which have been secured and on the get-up.

S.S.

Assamese Literature—By Brinchi Kumar Barua. Published by the International Book House, Ltd. Bombay. Price Re. 1-8-0.

ASSAMESE Literature by Brinchi Kumar Barua meets a cultural need. Assam was known as Prāg-jyotisha in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata and in classical sanskrit literature both as Prāj-jyotisha and Kāmarupa. Early inscriptions refer to it as such. Its old capital Prāg-jyotisha was near modern Gauhati in Assam and came to be so called from the thirteenth century. This eastern portion of the Brahmaputra valley came under the domination of a section of the great Tai or Shan race, whose rulers, the Ahom, assimilated the culture, language and religion of the original inhabitants and completely lost their identity in course of time. Assamese is a full fledged modern Indo-Āryan language both in respect of grammatical structure and a large percentage of vocables and it is derived from old Devanagari alphabet. The history of Assam from the early folk-songs and nursery rhymes to the pre-Vaiṣṇava and the Vaiṣṇava period is well given and the account continues under Ahom patronage till 1834, *i.e.* the post Vaiṣṇavite period. The modern period commences with 1826 by which time the struggle between the Vaiṣṇavite and Śakta forms of Hindu worship was reaching hot. The Bengali language had taken place of the original Assamese. The American Baptist Mission however reintroduced the Assamese and the new renaissance brought about a revolution in Assam. The results are given in the last part of the work. The anthology is interesting and we congratulate the P.E.N. All-India Centre and Srimati Sophia Wadia on the new series which they have introduced.

S.S.

Preparation for Citizenship—By Sophia Wadia. Published by the International Book House, Ltd. Bombay. Price Re. 1-0-0.

SRIMATI Sophia Wadia delivered three extension lectures under the auspices of the Mysore University on Democracy, Duty of the Citizen to the State and Duty of the State to the Citizen in 1937. They are collected together and published by the International Book House in 1941 and appropriately dedicated to the youth of the Motherland in the fervent hope that they will use the opportunity which the cycle of our national evolution is opening for them. The subject has exercised the minds of all thinking people all over the world at the present time. The true basis of democracy is a spiritual principle and her clarion call to the state and to the citizen to contribute co-operatively to bring the self-rule, in which diversities of gifts and graces of the spirit but enrich one another as well as the whole of the humanity, is timely. These lectures after they were delivered in 1937 were printed from the stenographic reports in the Aryan Path and during these five years European conditions, may we say the world conditions, have deteriorated and we in India as elsewhere have to learn from the tragic experience which we have been undergoing.

Differences in economic status, in moral character and mental capacity resulted in the wrong notion of the very foundation and basis of democracy and the temple of democracy erected on this falsely conceived road of passion, greed and competition. For democracy to succeed it must be built on a spiritualistic and not a materialistic platform. Democracy in the final analysis is the rule of the people and that is bound to fail in practical working unless the spiritual basis of humanity is preserved in a proper perspective. Western democracy proceeds on the basis that man is a social animal but democracy if it is Svaraj, is the rule of the self, *i.e.* rule of the animal self should be the rule of self as in the *Kāmātman* and *Antarātman* for as Sri Kṛṣṇa has said "I am the Ātman, the Ego seated in the hearts of all beings." Man is God, an unfolding God, a God in the making, but in the essence and substance already divine. Here is a basis of real universal brotherhood. Spiritual democracy aims not at destroying things but at using them as of equal value to the individual as well as to humanity as a

whole. Education is the training of the soul for Svaraj through citizenship. The modern tendencies to judge a man's success by his capacity to elbow others out and to push himself to the front are dangerous to the state and debasing to the individual. The human self has to educate itself for the uplift and service of the whole. The state is the school for the adult. Self-education depends entirely on self-discipline. Without discipline no state can exist. Knowledge must bring in virtue the feeling of altruism of enlightened generosity. The low, the evil and the ignoble must shed to the high, good and noble developments. True nobility, righteousness must be exalted in building his home of the self, which is beyond and superior to the light of the moon and the sun and the stars. The evil doer must be educated to get over his evil and the evil whenever found should not go unchecked. Justice and sacrifice should go together. We must learn to sacrifice intelligently, to ideate correctly, to build after the heavenly pattern. We must break the bondage of our minds corrupted by the glamour of a sensuous civilization and learn to live by the light of the spirit. Let us awake to our responsibilities, and serve our mother India so that she may bless the world.

S. S.

The Philosophy of Aesthetic Pleasure—(Annamalai University Sanskrit Series No. 6) By Panchapagesa Sastri, Vyākaraṇa Sāhitya and Vēdānta Sirōmaṇi, M.O.L; of the Sanskrit Department of the Annamalai University.

THE work under review was originally submitted as thesis (approved) for the degree of Master of Oriental Learning of the Madras University by the author and is now published in the Annamalai University Sanskrit Series. The author of this thesis is Brahmasri P. Panchapagesa Sastri, Vyākaraṇa Sāhitya and Vēdānta Sirōmaṇi. As one devoted to the study and teaching of Sāhitya and Vēdānta in a University, he is one of the most competent and best fitted men to write on a difficult and interesting subject like the Aesthetic Pleasure.

The literary criticism or the Philosophy of Aesthetic Pleasure has been a subject which has attracted the attention of many

scholars in and outside India. India has certainly excelled in this field as she has in the domain of Philosophy. The history of literary criticism in India dates far back to the Vedic period. In the Vedic period, the literary criticism and literary specimens seem to have developed concurrently. There are a number of hymns in the Ṛgveda which point out the importance of the appreciation of Poetry. In one of the hymns it is said that "the poetry reveals herself only to him who understands her." The Vedic bards no doubt, appreciated the critics. They themselves were critics. When we turn our attention to the non-Vedic poetry, we find Vālmīki, the first genuine poet (*Ādi Kavi*) as the father of Indian literary criticism. From his Śōka-Ślōka equation, we understand that pleasurable instinct in the poet is the fundamental principle underlying any of his works and as for the Rāmāyaṇa, it is the latent principle of pathos, that developed into *karuṇa*. That creative artist and critic Vālmīki made it clear that *Rasa* or the emotion is the fundamental principle and is the soul of poetry. Later, Bharata proceeded on the theoretical side of the subject and became its originator. He expounded the *Rasa-paddhati* of literary criticism. Even according to him, Rasa is the underlying principle in a poem, which makes it so enchanting. The theory of *Rasapaddhati* as propounded by him is brief. He says that poetry has an emotional appeal to us. It makes the reader's mind free from distractions and calls forth the dormant pleasure instincts in him while poetry is studied. Such instincts are roused resulting in joy. This joy is called the realisation of Rasa (*Rasāsvāda*) which is of transcendental nature. Thus we see both Vālmīki and Bharata become the propounders of the *Rasapaddhati*. In addition to this, there have been other methods which explain the power of literature in sanskrit. They are (1) *Aucityapaddhati* (2) *Alankārapaddhati* (3) *Guṇapaddhati* (4) *Rītipaddhati* (5) *Dhwanipaddhati* (6) *Vakrōkti and* (7) *Anumānapaddhati*. The literary critics who appeared after Bharata tried to give their theories—Bhamaha with *Alankāra*, Dandin with *Guṇa*, and Vamana with *Rīti*. All these deal more or less with the outward form of poetry, though they recognise sometimes the emotional element in poetry. The *Rasapaddhati*, for some

time, seems to have been brushed aside. Ānandavardhana, the spokesman of the method of suggestion and the Adaptationistic method brought the theory of *Rasapaddhati* into full view again. Later, the authors of literary criticism except Kuntaka and Mahimabhatta, who propounded the *Vakrōkti* and *Anumāna* schools followed the method of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta.

The theory of Rasa was explained by Bharata for the first time in a brief and vague sūtra "*Vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicāri samyōgadrasanispattih.*" All the writers on literary criticism have agreed that this sūtra of Bharata defines the scope and the nature of the *Rasāsvāda*. But it is really significant that there have been four distinct schools which seek to explain the Rasa theory based on the Bharata's Rasa sūtra. They are:

(i) The Generation Theory of Aesthetic Pleasure of *Bhaṭṭa lōllata*;

(ii) The Influence Theory of *Śri Śankuka*;

(iii) The Enjoyment Theory of *Bhaṭṭanāyaka*; and

(iv) The Revelation Theory of *Abhinavagupta*

According to the first two theories the permanent mental conditions (*Sthāyībhāvās*) in the original character develop into Rasa. *Bhaṭṭa lōllata* who is the first psychologist of æsthetics is of opinion that "superimposition" is the cause of pleasure. Śankuka criticises this view and says that the spectator's knowledge of the emotion of the original characters is impossible. According to him Rasa is *inferred*. The third school is that of *Bhaṭṭanāyaka*, who criticises both *Bhaṭṭa lōllata* and *Śankuka*. According to his theory the emotion and the mental conditions are presented to the spectator in an idealised inpersonal way of *Bhāvakaṭva* in poetry and thereafter *Bhōgakṛttva*. His explanation is based on the view of the *Akhyātavādins*. Last is the most important theory—the Revelation theory of æsthetic pleasure contributed by famous *Abhinavagupta*. He holds the view that all human minds especially of trained critics of poetry possess certain latent impressions (*Sthāyībhāvās*). By the operation of the *Vibhāvās* and *Anubhāvās*, the *Sthāyībhāvās* of the reader or the spectator is consummated into a relishable emotional kind of Rasa and the spectator enjoys it. According to Abhinavagupta, it is in these

latent instincts of the human mind the æsthetic pleasure takes its origin. Though all men have these latent instincts in them, it is only a *Sahṛdaya*, or a critic whose poetic heart is attuned to the work of art, that can enjoy the situation described in a poem or in a dramatic piece. According to him the *Sahṛdaya* realises his native *bhāvās* evoked in the abstract and thus realises the stage of emotion which is always pleasurable. The realisation of æsthetic pleasure is a mental perception according to this theory. The contribution of *Abhinavagupta* lies in the fact that it is he who for the first time established that the æsthetic pleasure of man is a phenomenon going on within him and resulting out of elements present in himself. The other contribution he has made to the literature of literary criticism is his fastening *suggestion* and demonstrating it as the most potent means of appeal used by the poet, only by which the pleasure of poetry could be enjoyed.

These and a good number of other interesting things such as, modern's exposition of *Rasāsvāda*, their interpretation of the *Rasasūtra*, the explanation of the tragic pleasure and the number of Rasas have been dwelt in these pages in a clear and masterly way. This certainly does great credit to the erudition of Mr. Sastriar. He has brought out very clearly what Bharata has intended to convey in his chapters on *Rasās* and *Bhavās*. He has explained the Abhinavagupta's correct and convincing interpretation of Bharata in a detailed manner. However, we must say that he has drawn more than what is necessary from *Abhinavabhārati* and *Locana*.

In writing this book the author has had the unique privilege of receiving guidance at the hands of Professor Mahāmahōpadhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal. In fact, the author was inspired by the lectures of Professor Kuppuswami Sastri on "The Highways and Byways of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit" delivered by him some years ago in the Annamalai University and made a special study of *Rasāsvāda*. The present work stands as a proof of his scholarship and analytical power. He has compared and collected a number of passages, taken a good deal of trouble in the elimination and selection of the interpretations and finally indicated the sequence in which the various views on

Rasāsvāda have been presented by various authors in sanskrit. The book deserves to be studied by all students of comparative literary criticism.

M. P. L. S.

The Sāmānya Vedānta Upaniṣads—English Translation by T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar. The Adyar Library, Madras. 1941.

THE Adyar Library which is rendering invaluable service by the publication of rare and valuable books undertook the publication of the original texts of all the 108 Upaniṣads and after its completion, has begun to give an English translation of these closely following the commentary of Śri Upaniṣad Brahma Yogin, the only commentator, though modern, so far believed to have commented upon all the 108 Upaniṣads. The commentary of Śri Upaniṣad Brahma Yogin on the major Upaniṣads, which have been commented upon by the Acaryas and other scholars, does not differ from that of Sri Śaṁkara but makes the subject more clear to many readers. Therefore where Sri Śaṁkara has not commented upon the minor Upaniṣads, the Commentary of Śri Upaniṣad Brahma Yogin would be of great value, as he follows Sri Śaṁkara as regards the major Upaniṣads.

The English translation of the Sāmānya Vedānta Upaniṣads comprises the following twenty-four minor Upaniṣads. Akṣi, Adhyātma, Annapūrṇa, Ātma, Ātmabōdha, Ēkākṣara, Kausitaki brāhmaṇa, Garbhā, Niralāmba, Paingaḷa, Pranāgnihōtra, Māntrika, Maha, Muktika, Mudgala, Maitrayāni, Vajrassucika, Sārīraka, Sukharahasya, Sarva-sāra, Sāvitry, Subala, Surya and Skanda Upaniṣads.

Mr. T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar deserves to be congratulated for the clear, free and easy translation he has made, with brief preparatory note of each Upaniṣad. To the seeker of Truth this work will be a valuable guide to the sacred texts. The printing and get up of the book leave nothing to be desired.

R. B. P.

Education—By Svami Vivekananda, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. As. 8.

THIS compilation from the speeches and writings of Svami Vivekananda by Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam shows how Svami Vivekananda

always emphasised the need of a right type of education for the upliftment of the masses for the solution of our outstanding problems. Svami Vivekananda traced our downfall to the neglect of our own brethren, who were ground down by poverty, suffering and illiteracy.

The education of the masses with a spiritual ideal for its background and by concentration and by acquisition of right knowledge imbedded within the man himself, would lead to the regeneration of the masses.

R. B. P.

Kinship Terminology and Kinship Usages in Rigveda and Atharvaveda—By Dr. Mrs. Irawati Karve--Reprint from the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 4.

THIS is a companion volume to the Marāthi Kinship Terminology. In her attempt to investigate the Kinship Terminology and Kinship Usages in Ancient and Modern India, the author ascertains the family institutions of the Vedic people and finds out how far they have been preserved in Modern India. The first part deals with the Kinship Terminology and the second with the Kinship Usages in Ṛgveda and Atharva Veda.

The first part gives us an idea of the Vedic family and marriage institution. The usages of various kinship terms are discussed in their extensive aspect and each term is compared in the light of both the Vedas. Verses from the Vedas are quoted and explained. While in this investigation one gathers interesting facts surrounding the Vedic people. The author being a Marāthi scholar is able to compare the Vedic term with the Marāthi term. For example the term *Tanya* derived from *Tan* meaning in Sanskrit son, has a relative expression in Marāthi, *Tahne* and *Tahnu* which refer to child. Some of the social conditions are brought to light such as Bride-show and other manners and customs.

In the second part we find how the two Vedas present us with a growing social process and not a static picture of rigid, well established customs. The Vedic people under the stress of impact with other cultures and civilisations began to change their social institutions.

R. B. P.

Jaganmohan Palace Chitrasala, Mysore, Gallery of Historical Portraits. Catalogue: With short sketches of the Indians and Europeans in the Portraits—Second and revised edition. Copies can be had from the Officer in Charge, Jaganmohan Palace, Chitrasala, Mysore.

THE revised and second edition of the Catalogue of historical paintings in the Jaganmohan Palace with short historical sketches of the Indians and Europeans in the portraits printed by the Bangalore Press and edited by Rājacharitavishārada Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao is a very useful, handy and informative guide. Mr. Hayavadana Rao has spared no pains in making it as complete, accurate and full as possible.

S. S.

Annual Reports of the Mysore Archæological Department for the years 1938, 1939 and 1940—Copies can be had from the Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, Mysore.

WE congratulate the Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore on the publication of the Annual Reports for the years 1938, 1939 and 1940 in quick succession and in achieving the main object which he had set out many years ago, *viz.* to bring the reports up-to-date. These volumes record work requiring patient industry, diligent research and careful thinking. In the wilderness of Mysore monuments it is always difficult to select and sift for renovation, preservation and conservation, much more troublesome is identification and reading of coins and inscriptions.

It is interesting to hear in M. A. R. 1938 that a discovery has been made of images which may be connected with the early Cōla and Hoysaḷa schools of architecture and that the remarkable statue of Gomata at Śṛavaṇabeḷgoḷa is examined with a view to taking measures to prevent it from further decay. From a careful study of the Śṛavaṇabeḷgoḷa image points of conservation have been noted and this requires immediate attention. At page 46 Santanāmbuja or the Progeny Lotus of the Mysore Royal Family is mentioned. That undoubtedly is a record of very great importance and we would be very much obliged if Dr. Krishna could help us to follow the material on which this remarkable and highly accurate work has been based. Of course, here and there

notes are added with reference to the Annals of the Mysore Royal Family. We wish to make a suggestion at the outset, *viz.* that considerable importance must necessarily be placed on place names as suggested by Mr. Hayavadana Rao more than twenty years ago in a paper contributed to this journal. It does not look as if when places are visited like *e.g.* Huliyurdurga, why it should be called so has been investigated. It is interesting to notice amongst the portrait paintings in the Jaganmohan Palace the pictures of Dost Mohammad Khan, Ranajit Singh, Viraraj Urs of Coorg and the Jumbusavari procession of Krishnarāja Wadiyar III. Further, under manuscripts is referred a transcript of Sachchudra-chara-Nirṇaya containing fourteen chapters with a prefatory extract from the twelfth chapter of Śivamahatmya-khānda. The colophon tells us that the author was Chikkadevarāja Wadiyar, the Mysore ruler from 1673-1704 *A.D.* The work is of great importance as tending to determine the caste by birth and suggesting methods for inter-relationship by matrimony and otherwise. It helps us also to confirm the conquests of Chikkadevarāja Wadiyar of Chedamangala, Malai, Paramati, Salem, Kongu, Dharmapura, Malavalli, Dharamapuri, Kengari etc. A copper plate grant of Hoskote belonging to the twelfth year of the Ganga King Konganyadhirāja Avanita supports the suggestion of the late Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar that Durvinita son of Avanita was a contemporary of the Pallava King Simhaviṣṇu and that Kubja Viṣṇu Vardhana and Bharavi were also contemporaries. When did Madhvachar get possession of this, from whom and what is the history concerning the find? These should be interesting indeed and must always be secured whenever we come across copper-plate grants though apparently there is nothing to suggest that this grant is not genuine. If Simhaviṣṇu's mother was related to the Ganga Family, how the relationship came about is not clear. All that is said is that Avanita made a grant to the temple constructed by the mother of the Pallava King Simha-viṣṇu. How that brings about the relationship between the two families it is not possible to say. A number of interesting records belonging to the Parakalaswami Mutt is mentioned. One of them granted by Tippu Sultan directs that a copy of the *nirupa* should

be preserved in the registers of the Shanubogh and the original *nirupa* itself to be preserved in the Mutt of the Parakalaswami indicating great care taken for purposes of authentication and identity. Inscription 67 plate XXXV at pages 188-89 line 3 *variśada Vibhava samvasarada*, line 13 *yerayengeśvarada sthanika*, line 8 *maduvina*, lines 9 and 10 *kottar iddakke summakke*, all these suggest whether the inscription may not be much later.

The image of Neminātha, in the Santinātha Basti, Kambadahalli, in the Report for 1939 is very interesting and impressive. The workmanship of the frescoes is excellent and no praise could be too lavish for the sculptor, *vide* plates, I, VIII, IX, X, XI and XII. At pages 17-18 references to the image of Gomata are made. One should like to have an explanation of the defect in workmanship of this otherwise beautiful image about the knee. Channarāyapatna was known as Kolaturu till about 1500 *A.D.* and Kolaturu became Channarayapatna after a Vijayanagara officer named Chennigarāya. It contains a temple called Gadde-Rameśvara temple a mile to the south-east of the town. It received certain additions in later times apparently in the seventeenth century. The carving shows a Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa bird holding elephants in its beaks. In the front yard of the temple there is a mantap of granite with a brick tower under which on a pillar of soapstone is a Basava with a head to the East and another to the west. I have not heard of a double-headed Basava and even the detailed article on the evolution of the Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa does not refer to this double-headed bull anywhere but this coming in the thirteenth century is interesting. In dealing with numismatics Dr. Krishna says at page 98 that the Rājatarangiṇi states that King Harṣa of Kashmir imitated the Karnāṭaka type of coins. Rapson compares the elephant on these coins with the elephant on Ganga coins. In the eleventh century Nanyadeva is said to have established a Karnāṭaka dynasty in Nepal. Dr. Shama Sastri suggests that there was a Karnāṭaka dynasty in Nepal by about the eighth century and it is said that in the first half of the twelfth century the Karnāṭaka line was established in the North-Eastern part of India under Nanyadeva. Harisimha of this dynasty invaded Nepal in

1324 and established himself near Khatmandu. Then again by about 1380 Jayasthimalla represented the Karnāṭaka dynasty and thus began gradually the decline of the power of the Karnāṭaka kings in Nepal. In the village Hirimadhure in the Challakere Taluk are some viragals in old Kannada characters. The identity of the place referred to, if it is a place, Bage-ur, the date of the record are all in doubt. With reference to the viragals of the Ganga king Sripuruṣa and others the suggestions of Mons. Dubreuil and others remains to be verified. Dr. Krishna has taken considerable trouble in elucidating these stones and his conclusions are very suggestive. No. 36 in Kogodu, Archalli Hobli, Belur Taluk is a viragal recording the death of a warrior in the defence of the honour of the women of the village by about 1034 *A.D.*

The report for 1940 may well be called the volume for Nanjangud Śrikanteśvara Temple. The temple is one of the most important in the State and century after century, dynasty after dynasty has added by its devotion and prayerful attitude to it, *e.g.* see the devotional attitude of a royal couple, plate IV No. 3, centuries ago, still unmatched and unrivalled to this day, yet true and natural. I should think that the earliest traces of the temple go so far back as at least the ninth or the tenth century. There are however, pillars in the Navaranga which must have been of Hoysaḷa workmanship. The Vijayanagara rulers and the Mysore kings bestowed considerable attention and added to its importance from the time of Harihara I. It is difficult to find how Nanjangud No. 280 referred to in E. C. Mysore supplement is not traceable now. We wish attempts will be made to get at it. This temple attracted the notice of Tippu (Haidar?) who was responsible for the Pachche or Padśa linga on the left of the Parvati shrine in greenish jade. Krishnarāja Wadiyar III of revered memory undoubtedly devoted his resources to the improvement of this temple. At page 31 (plate XIII No. 2) Śivalinga image No. 8 is Kālasamhāramurthi with Markandeya defended by Śiva who spears Yama for having put a halter on his devotee. Whence is the idea borrowed? The beautiful sculpture of the goddess in Tiruvunnamalai where the rope is Nāgapaṣa gives rise to certain further considerations. Firstly is it Markandeya who is seeking

protection, secondly is it Yama that is being slain or is it a yama-duta? Thirdly is it Śiva or Śakti who is responsible for the killing which results in the protection of Markandeya? The image is very suggestive, it has got many of the attributes of a female deity though it is difficult to say it is so. In Tiruvunnamalai in the shrine of Unnamale or Parvati which I believe was originally the shrine of Arunachaleśvara, the Parvati shrine being the original and the main, which however is by the way, there is a beautiful sculpture to your right as you proceed from the Gopurum gate to the Sukhanāsi. There Markandeya embraces the linga, Yama comes on his buffalo with a Nāgapaṣa which is about to pull Markandeya and the linga itself and attract the victim to his ultimate destruction. In the meanwhile Śakti the great goddess, evidently Parvati springs up from the linga from the panivetta and with her right foot tramples upon the hood of the Sarpa which has coiled round Markandeya. The carving is beautiful, the imagery is splendid and very suggestive. This is not the place to go into it in detail or I should have discussed several other images in the yogic posture in the Kalyāṇa Mantap of the Arunachaleśvara temple there and sought to justify the view that Vidyaranya was the real maker of the Vijayanagara Empire. That Vidyaranya was perhaps Mādhava, probably identifiable with Kriyaśakti, that the temple of Arunachaleśvara was really the temple of Śakti, Unnamale (Parvati) required to work hand in hand with Arunachaleśvara himself, which if tradition is to be accepted assumed the form of the linga or the famous hill. That is why the pradakṣina to the hill is made on bare feet. The hill is sanctified on account of the *tejas*. Disciples go round to the bottom or the centre and get a touch of the hill. Geologically speaking, the hill may be an extinct volcano but the devotionally inclined see the hand of God in all these.

Dr. Krishna says that a sculpture of a Hindu warrior in relief in the Bangalore fort may be that of Kempe Gowda of Magadi since he suggests the act of attacking the tiger with his sword and a short-spear but we have to remember that the story of Saḷa and the tiger has been well-known even in the Bangalore parts for centuries prior to this and an old tradition derived Bangalore from Ballala II till an inscription at Begur showed that Bangalore was

known as early as 800 *A.D.* as a place of some importance. The tomb of Shāji, the father of the great Śivaji, six miles to Hodigeri requires attention. Speaking of the excavations at Chandravalli nothing more need be added to what has already been said in my article on Chitaldrug in QJMS Vol. XXXI Nos. 3 & 4 pp. 338-356. It is very much to be desired that before long Iṣila and Maski, Chandravalli and Pythan, well-known as great twins before the wondering world would establish all that is claimed for them. From such an examination as I was able to make I must admit that they are in the beginning of our work both at Chandravalli and at Brahmagiri and a great deal more remains to be done before we can ever determine where more detailed excavations ought to commence. Perhaps, a separate officer with considerable facilities and assistance would have to be posted for this duty and I should like to think of the time when these discoveries on the Northern outskirts of Mysore will provide that pre-historic data competing most favourably with those discovered at Taxila, Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa and elsewhere in Northern India.

S. S.

The Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India: 1936-37—Edited by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology in India. Price Rs. 19-10 or 30 *s*.

THE reconditioning of the Dome of the Gol Gumbaz at Bijapur and the effecting of repairs which had been delayed in previous years owing to retrenchment are welcome news. Special attention has been given to the contributions relating to the antiquities of Burma which will henceforth not figure in this report owing to the separation of Burma from the Indian Empire. Very little of exploration of the Indus civilization was done, but work at Taxila, Nalanda and Rajgir was continued;—Bhir mound and Dharmarājika Stūpa at Taxila; two monasteries, a Chaitya site in Nalanda: and Maniyar Matha, Jain shrine and Mahadēva temple on the Vaibhāra hill; Shell inscription area near Banganga and Gṛidhrakūṭa in Rajgir. The discovery from the furnace of metal slags, fragmentary fireclay crucibles, clay moulds, ribs or ridges of furnace made up of clay with the admixture of husk, twigs and sand and crucible lids stuck with slag of molten

metals shows that the monks and students of the Nalanda University were familiar with the process of casting metal for their images, etc. The numerous variety and abundance of pottery shows how popular this ware was at Nalanda. An interesting feature of these pots is that, irrespective of their size, each of them was provided with a neat hole or a small spout for pouring out water. In some cases the body of these pots was incised with various designs and dusted with mica to give them a brilliant lustre. Jugs are provided with a long, narrow spout and a handle for holding them firmly. These vessels were usually painted red or in other suitable colours. Buddha is said to have meditated sitting on the top of the Gṛidhrakūta hill, familiarly known as the vulture's peak. He is also said to have delivered certain important discourses at the caves which are situated at the summit of this hill. Here again king Bimbisara is known to have met Buddha. Two ancient brick stūpas have been cleared of their debris. A few inscribed clay sealings, a red stone image of Buddha etc. have been gathered. Traces of several shrines and a stone paved foot-path running towards the East were discovered on the east and south sides of the caves.

The discovery of the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar of a colossal monument at Nandangarh of the type of the Paharpur temple in North Bengal is noteworthy. The building is polygonal and star shaped in plan. It is said to be earlier than the Paharpur temple by about six or seven centuries, though they are similar in plan. The most interesting discovery was the terracotta mould of a coin or token, with a Brāhmī inscription which is deciphered by the help of a square lead piece and the characters are of the first century *B.C.* Two other coins belonging to the Kuṣān period were discovered. These show the antiquity of the monument. The exploration of sites in Assam have yielded good results—a large number of ruins of mediaeval temples are noticed. The extreme south has many prehistoric sites worthy of exploration. At Nāgārjunakonda a Roman coin has been discovered and it belongs to the Roman Emperor Hadrianus Augustus P.P. The chief of the sites noticed in this report are: discoveries of pottery and terracottas etc. in (1) Annupanandi two miles S. E. of Madura Dt. (2) Vadagarai

in Periyakulam, fifty-four miles from Madura and (3) in Malabar a small rock cut cave with a small door a stone seat, some pedestals, broken pillars and earthenwares were discovered. As remarked by the editor in his introduction the discussions of Rao Bahadur C. R. K. Charlu, on the antiquity of Koṟkai and some prehistoric sites in the Ramnad and Tinnevelly districts are very interesting. The ascription of great antiquity for Koṟkai finds geological and stratigraphical corroboration and the rough date for the civilization whose remains might be reasonably expected to be explored, is stated to be about 2,500 years back from now. Dr. Caldwell's pioneer investigations in this direction are given due praise and significance. The author's derivation of the meaning 'emporium' for Kolkhoi in preference to that of Dr. Caldwell which equates it with 'the hand or arm of slaughter' is really good. The necessity of a proper excavation of the sites, which must naturally include the three villages Akkāśālai, Māṟamangalam, and Koṟkai, is rightly emphasised by the author. In passing it may be noted that the deciphering in part of the Paradēśipudai Brāhmī inscription is praiseworthy, though the correctness of the deciphered portion is yet to be confirmed and the connection of the word 'Eli' or 'Eliya' with the chiefs or members of the Mūśika-vamsa of Mt. D'Eli is highly improbable. The review of Epigraphy—the collection and decipherment of epigraphs—by Dr. N. P. Chakravarty is complete. Among the publications in the Epigraphia Indica for the year, the edition of the Leiden Plates by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer and the note on the Sailēndra kings by Prof. R. C. Majumdar are given due importance.

Among the miscellaneous notes the identification of the Andhakāsuramūrti is interesting and the notice of a six-armed image of Gaṇēśa carrying a sword, in the Trikūṭēśvara temple in the Dharwar district is new. As the author points the six-armed Gaṇēśa sculpture form Gol in the Rajshāhi district of Bengal has no sword in its hand. The 'Discovery of a Gaṇēśa type so rare as the one found at Trikūṭēśvara temple at Gadag derives additional interest from the facts that its equivalents occur in the ancient paintings of such distant lands as Nepal and Japan'.

The fact that a set of copper-plates was discovered at Sonepur, found deposited in a massive stone chest which appears to have been specially made for their safe keep, buried in a plot of land opposite to the Khambhēśvarī temple at the place, is very interesting as it reveals to us one of the best methods of preserving State documents or documents of importance in safety and preventing them from ruin. One is reminded of the discovery of the massive set of Tiruvālaṅgāḍu copper plates discovered in an underground chamber of the temple at Tiruvalaṅgādu.

Re-orientation of the work of the Department seems to be an imminent necessity. Finally, we will join with the hope of the editor that better days are in store for the Department.

K. S. V.

Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature—Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India No. 58. By Dr. B. C. Law. Rs. 2-12-0.

A detailed study of the historical cities of ancient India is an asset and attempts made in that direction are always welcome. The reputed scholar Dr. B. C. Law who has been devoting his life for the cause of all that is noble and ancient in Indian Culture has been responsible for excellent monographs of renowned cities of Ancient India. *Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature* is another of his beautiful presentations dealing with the ancient town, Rājagṛha, the capital of Magada, based on all literary sources In the history of Brahminism, Jainism and Buddhism this city has played a very great part in spreading their own culture and learning.

One gets an insight into the different names of this city, their origin and significance, a clear description and a beautiful architecture. We get also a survey into the antiquity and history. We have no hesitation in recommending this interesting memoir to all interested in the study of the ancient literatures of India.

R. B. P.

Karnāṭaka Inscriptions. Volume I—Edited by R. S. Panchamukhi, M.A. Director of Kannada Research, Bombay Province, Dharwar. Price Rs. 4-0-0.

KARNĀTAKA inscriptions, Volume I, is edited by Mr. Panchamukhi, Director of Kannada Research in the Bombay Province.

Nine dynasties have been included in the list and five plates have been considered. It is a matter for congratulation that the Government of Bombay should have inagurated the work of research in Karnāṭaka history and Kannada literature and entrust this task to Mr. Panchamukhi. The inscriptions give an indication of the cultural achievement of the Karnāṭaka in a thousand years or more. Sixty-nine inscriptions dealt with give the important details of political, topical, social and religious history of the Bombay-Karnāṭaka and furnish a mine of data for the reconstruction of the dialectical peculiarities of the ancient Kannada language and the chronology of the Kannada alphabet during a period of nine hundred years. *Adhistana* appears to have been used in the sense of a capital town, *nagara* as metropolitan city and *vāsaka* or *avāsaka* as a place of temporary residence, *pura* being a synonym with *Nagara*. Badāmi was an important educational and spiritual centre in the seventh century and the *adhistana* of several thousand Brahmans well versed in the fourteen thousand vidyas. Governed by the *Mahājanas* was the *Mahāchathurvidya samudāya* of the thousand members, a council whose funçtion and powers were very varied and extensive including the right of distribution of spoils or booty of a raid. Apparently this council came to be known later as the *Mahājanas* of the *Agrahāra* in the medieval period of Karnāṭaka history and in other places these *agrahāras* came to be identified with the trade guilds with their sub-divisions of *Shettiguttas*, *Mummuridandas*, and *Nānādesis* etc. The village administration was shared by three regularly constituted bodies in their respective spheres of work *viz. Nādu*, *Nakhara* and *Grāma*. The *niṣidhis* are stones recording the death of persons by religious vows as amongst the Jains. The earliest inscription referred to is dated 610 *A.D.*

S. S.

Interpretation of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads of Indian States—By K. R. R. Sastry, M.A., M.L. University of Allahabad Studies.

MR. K. R. R. SASTRY has brought out under the University of Allahabad series the interpretations of treaties, engagements and sanads of Indian States in a neat handy form and describes the

treaties as comprising of four classes: the first possessing the character of conveyance, the second possessing the character of contracts, the third being law making treaties which are divisible into treaties creating constitutional law and pure law and the fourth being akin to characters of incorporation. The treaty with Mysore in 1881, he seems to consider has the character of conveyance. Looking into the history of the period one would find that it cannot be so treated but as one having the character of a contract the background of which has since been amply recognized was the feeling that there was a basis of agreement and equality at the inception though when the treaty came to be executed it was between parties of equal strength.

S. S.

The Bombay Karnataka: A Geographical Survey—By B. S. Seshagiri, B.Ag., B.Sc., M.Sc. Lingaraj College, Belgaum. Price Rs. 2.

IN the above monograph the author has ably presented the geographical survey of the four Kannada districts, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and South Canara, which form part of the Bombay Presidency.

The Bombay Karnāṭaka is an area extending over 18,874 square miles. It is not physically uniform. The region like many parts of India is eminently agricultural but rich in some of the natural resources not exploited. Agriculture has suffered in certain parts of the region owing to paucity of rainfall and lack of means of irrigation. This coupled with other features has contributed to the economic backwardness of the region. The author in conclusion considers the means of ameliorating this and the creation of a well-planned irrigation system, the exploitation of the natural sources of the country and the development of the Karwar harbour would no doubt go a long way in the economic prosperity of its people.

The monograph is an instructive and intelligent survey of the subject based on statistics. It is fully illustrated and the appendix at the end has enhanced its value. Kannadigas are particularly grateful to the author for his valuable and useful monograph and look forward for the author's geographical survey of the entire Karnāṭaka country.

D. S. A.

Lyrics and Sonnets—By M. Gilbert. Published by the Hosali Press, 6 Ulsoor Road, Bangalore. Price Re. 1-0-0.

WE congratulate Mr. Gilbert on the excellent series of verses which are collected in Lyrics and Sonnets. The get up is excellent and adds credit to the Hosali Press. The poems are full of promise for the future of the author.

"O what are glory, wealth, magnificence,
If I could get back childhood's innocence"

is one of his Sonnets which go direct to our hearts.

S. S.

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

Mudrārākṣasa of Viśākhadatta
The Mṛcchakaṭika of Śūdraka } Edited by Prof. R. D. Karamkar, Principal and Professor of Sanskrit, Sri Parasurambhau College, Poona. Rs. 3-0-0 and Rs. 3-8-0 respectively.

THE Mudrārākṣasa of Viśākhadatta is a unique drama in sanskrit. Unlike the other plays in sanskrit, this deals with diplomacy and politics to the entire exclusion of love, without having a single female character, a fact which might appear almost impossible to believe. The style of the poet is also direct and vigorous keeping with the dignity of the subject-matter that is portrayed. The drama deals with the events that happened during the year immediately after the defeat of the Nandas and the installation of Chandragupta Maurya as Emperor. The interest in the play centres round the theme of winning over of Rākṣasa, a capable minister of the Nandas, who remains faithful to them even after their defeat, by Cānakya, a clear-headed, self-confident, intriguing politician, who is responsible for Chandragupta Maurya's accession to the throne. Rākṣasa, faithful as he is to his masters, tries to take vengeance upon Chandragupta and Cānakya. Cānakya proves more than a match to Rākṣasa, in this connection. Rākṣasa is no doubt a brave soldier, but somewhat a soft-natured politician. These two great men Cānakya and Rākṣasa attract the attention of the readers, and their devotion, loyalty, seriousness of purpose and the method they adopt to win their object thrill us. The soliloquy of Rākṣasa in the sixth act of the drama after Rākṣasa's aim

has been abandoned, out of helplessness speaks volumes of his faithfulness to his masters. We find another pair of rivals in the drama in Chandragupta and Malayakētu. Chandragupta is a man of dignity and character, having regard to his minister, whereas Malayakētu is thoughtless and suspicious. There is no drama in sanskrit which can come up to the level of the Mudrārākṣasa, in regard to its plot construction, done with such singular skill, except perhaps the Mṛcchakaṭika.

There have been a number of editions of this play edited by such eminent scholars as Professor Dhruva, Mr. Kale and Mr. K. T. Telang. The present edition of the Mudrārākṣasa by Principal R. D. Karamkar contains three parts brought out in two volumes. The first part contains the text and its literal translation printed below the text. The second part is devoted to the exhaustive notes on all important points, and the third is the introductory portion which deals with the authorship and date of the Mudrārākṣasa, its sources and a critical appreciation of the drama.

It has five appendices given at the end dealing with the definitions of some dramatic terms, subhāṣitas, notes on metre, explanations of technical words and an alphabetical index of the verses appearing in the play. Except the last, the rest could have been brought under the second part of the book. A critical note in regard to the social and political conditions of the period would have been of great help to the students. The present edition of the drama serves the students' needs to understand the text and appreciate its author.

Principal Karamkar has brought out a students' edition of another famous and interesting drama "Mṛcchakaṭika" or the "Earthen Toycart." By virtue of its subject-matter and the method with which it is handled, this play of Śūdraka, is considered to be one of the most enjoyable plays in sanskrit literature. Śūdraka has defied the convention in selecting the subject-matter of the play and giving a title to it. The drama is all attractive, for one finds here a changed atmosphere differing from the stereotyped atmosphere one would generally find in the sanskrit dramas. This, like the other play edited by Mr. Karamkar, contains a translation of

the text together with an introduction, discussing the authorship and date of the play and other important things connected with the drama. This is a useful addition to the existing stock of editions of sanskrit dramas.

M. P. L. S.

KANNADA

Government, Its System and Structure (ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಅದರ ಪದ್ಧತಿ ಮತ್ತು ರಚನಾಕ್ರಮ)

By H. Krishna Rao, M.A. Mysore University. Sir K.P. Puttanna Setty Puduvattina Prakatanamāle No. 3. Price As. 2.

In the book under review the author deals with the importance of and the need for the study of politics, explains the meaning of State and Government, describes the characteristics of good government and considers the several aspects of Democracy and Federalism. The several forms and working of the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary are briefly dealt with. The defects of democracy as paving the way for the rise of dictatorship are clearly set forth. Dictatorship in spite of some of its remarkable achievements in economic and social spheres may not hope to survive for long with its suppression of the individual which is detrimental to the progress of civilisation. Democracy divested of its evils, finds favour with the author as the best form of Government. But democracy has failed to deliver the goods and we believe that the future of the world lies in some form of Socialist State where there is no class distinction, where there is equality of opportunities for the people and where freedom reigns restricted by the interests of Society and State.

The book is written in a clear and simple style and is particularly useful to the students of Civics studying in High Schools.

D. S. A.

ENGLISH—MARĀTHI

Kinship Terminology and Kinship Usages of the Marātha Country—By Dr. Mrs. Irawati Karve. A Re-print from the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, 6.

A careful and close study of Kinship Terminology of the people speaking one language is an interesting subject and a comparative study

with the language of other people is certainly the more valuable. India with her varied languages furnishes an opportunity to study a type of people in this light. In her brilliant attempt Dr. Mrs. Irawati Karve has given us a very lucid and interesting account of Kinship Terminology and usages in the Marātha country in the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute.

Of the multifarious languages in India, Marāthi is one of the richest, possibly the richest language, so far as kinship usages are concerned and a study of this will definitely add to our knowledge. While the English language speaks of 'Cousin' or 'Uncle' for different kinship, male or female, Marāthi has individual terms for different relationships, as also in other Indian languages.

The Marātha people occupy a unique position between the Northern Indian cultures dominated by the Vedic ideals and culture, and the Dravidian cultures of South India. The first trace of written Marāthi goes so far back as 973 *A.D.* "Unfortunately this great cultural and linguistic (Marāthi) area has been divided in three parts and allotted to different provinces, owing partly to the historical accident of the dates of the conquests by the British of its different parts, and to the blindness to cultural and anthropological facts displayed by the rulers of the British Empire in all those possessions and colonies". This, however, applies also to Telugu and Kannada and Malayalam.

R. B. P.

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MARĀTHI

Vedanta Kavya-Lahari, Parts 1 & 2
Laghu Gītartha-Bodha-Lahari
By Dattatraya Dharmayya Poredi, Vakil, Sholapur.

SRI Dattatraya Dharmayya Poredi is a devotee and disciple of Śri Siddarameśvara Mahārāj, and has attempted to bring out in Marāthi the spirit of Vedānta devoid of its complexity. He has drawn attention to the different ways in which the one Truth manifests itself by illustrating it from the sayings of his own guru and from the teachings of great saints of Mahārāṣtra like Gñānesvar and Tukarām. He has analysed the thoughts on Castes, Panca-mudra, Ātma and others. The episodes on Visvamitra-Menaka, Namdev-Muktabai make delightful reading.

The teaching of the Gīta or the Lord's song is unique and for all time: it has attracted people of all castes and races and climes throughout the globe.

Laghu Gitartha-Bodha-Lahari meaning Brahma Vidya Rahasya is a translation in Marāthi Verse, simple in presentation. It is not a mere translation of the Gīta, as the author has selected only 233 slokas from the whole work to show that the Gīta of the eighteen chapters is not a compartmental division of three different yogas, six for Karma, six for Bhakthi and the third six for Gñāna but that each chapter presents a synchronised idea of Brahma-Vidya blending in it all the Yogas, as will also appear from the colophon at the end of each chapter of the Gīta.

R. B. P.

Śiva-Charitra-Vritta-Sangraha, Part II, Persian Section—Edited by Ganesh Hari Khare. Bharata Ithihasa Samshodaka Mandali, Poona. Re. 1-4-0.

WITH extreme care and devotion and with enormous cost and compiling from all possible sources the Life of Śivaji the great empire builder has been brought out.

The book under review forms the fifth in the series and is a companion volume to the third, Part I, the Kannada section. Muhammad-nāma Adil Shah, Tarikh-i-Ali, Ali-nāma, Hafth Kursi and Basātīnussālātīna embody in fragments the life and anecdotes of Śivaji and of his father Śhāji. The student of Indian History will find this and other publications as the first step for his research. The book furnishes a complete index for ready reference.

R. B. P.

PERSIAN—MARĀTHI

Ithihasika-Pārsi-Sahitya. Trutiya Khanda. (Persian Sources of Indian History Part III). By Ganesh Hari Khare. Bharata Ithihasa Samshodak Mandali, Poona. Re. 1-8-0.

A very useful material for the Indian History is available in this book for a fairly long period ranging from August 29, 1583 to June 27, 1708 A. D. The original letters 95 in number, are in Persian, secured by the Mandali for purposes of examination and

edition from the ancient Desai families of Agadi, Gadag, Bisarahalli, Lakshmeśvar and Salasi : the first 33 letters from Sri Aba Saheb and Sri Bhayya Saheb Bahadur Desai of Agadi (Haveri), and the other 56 letters have been taken out from Sri Venkatadri Srinivasa Bahadur Desai of Gadag, the last 6 letters from Sri Guruppayya Bisarahalli Desai, Sri Achuta Rao and Narayana Rao Prabhu Desai, Sankarappa Khan-gouda Desai. The learned Editor, Sri Khare, has brought out the publication of these letters in original together with their translations in Marāthi, and with a chronological list for easy reference. The explanations of these letters have been given out in Marāthi which serve quite a useful purpose. The importance of each letter is made clear.

In the history of Mahārāṣtra the role of Adil Shāh is of great significance and the Adilshāi-Sikke chapter adds further information. There is a well compiled index which is of utmost value.

R. B. P.

TELUGU

History of Kammas (కమ్మవారి చరిత్రము), **Part II**—By Kotha Bhavayya Chowdary. Published by the Author, Sangam Jagarlamoody, Godavari District.

THE book under review, of which the first part we had occasion to introduce to our readers in October 1940 of our Journal relates to the History of Kammas of the Telugu country who were a military community and were also tillers of the soil and big estate holders. They stood in comparison to Velamas and Balijas. The author regards Kammas as Kṣatriyas who observed the Brahmanical rituals and rites illustrating it from various inscriptions, books and contemporary publications among others.

The inter-relationship between the Reddys and the Kammas does not necessarily suggest that they were Kṣatriyas but it may be under the influence of Buddhism they lost all caste nomenclature and later on the revival of Hinduism came to be classed as Śudras. The Kammas lost their individuality after the fall of the Kākatiya Sri Venapratapa Rudra in the fourteenth century and became subordinate to the ruling chiefs of the time whom they served loyally as commanders in the army.

The origin of this community is traced to the twelfth century and 1,229 families are discovered, indeed not an easy enterprise. The name however appears to have been known since the Vedic period. They adopted and followed the manners and customs of Brahmins, and added a suffix, *Varma*, to their names but in later times had to give it up as the Brahmins objected. The author says that the Kammas were Kṣatriyas belonging to the Āndhra country, descended from the stock of Cōlas and the Cālukyas, connected with the family of Karikala Durjaya of Surya-vamsa.

Authors who bring out family Histories of Indian communities deserve commendation as we have said in reviewing the *Velugoti-vari Vamsavali.*

R. B. P.

TAMIL

Pulavar Ulagam (புலவர் உலகம்)—By Jagavīra Pandyan. Published by Madras C. Varadarajulu Naidu Press, Madura.

It is the intention of the author to write the lives of men of Tamil letters. Some years ago he brought out a popular edition of the life of Agattyamunivar, whom tradition regards as the parent of the Tamil language. This book was prescribed for college classes by the Universities of Mysore and Madras, a tangible proof of the excellence and value of the book. As a first instalment he gives the literary estimate of Kamba, the author of the Tamil Rāmāyaṇa.

P. S. L.

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